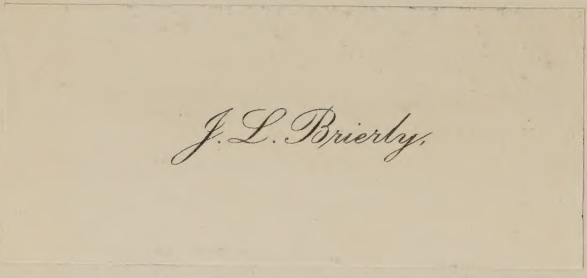
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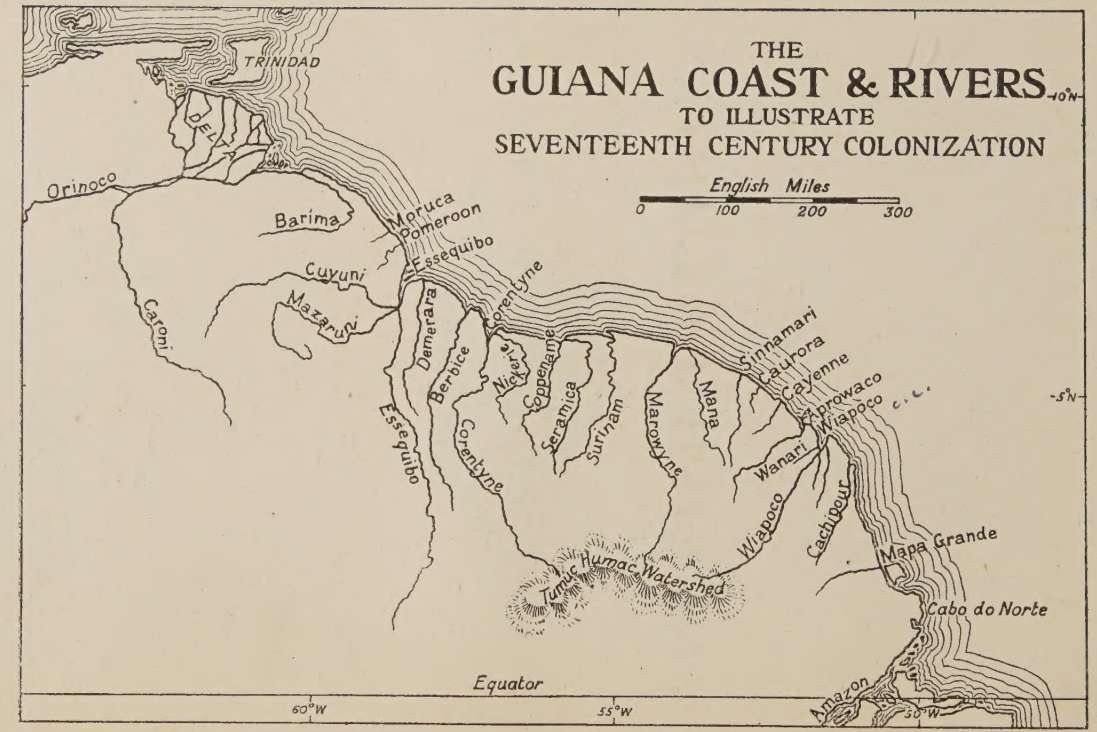
ENGLISH COLONIES

in

GUIANA AND ON THE AMAZON,

1604–1668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Corentyne
Nickerie
Coppename
Seramica
Suriname
Marowyne
Mana
Sinnamari
Caurora
Cayenne
Aprowaco
Wiapoco
Wanari
Cachipour
Wiapoco
Mapa Grande
Cabo do Norte
Amazon
Tumuc Humac Watershed
Equator
10°N
5°N
60°W
55°W
50°W

ENGLISH COLONIES

IN

GUIANA

AND ON

THE AMAZON

1604–1668

By James A. Williamson

OXFORD

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

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PREFACE

THE following pages relate an almost forgotten chapter in English colonial history. Many of the incidents dealt with are obscure, and the evidence which survives is often insufficient to establish a satisfactory outline of events. Much of the investigation has therefore been of the nature of detective work, the following up and making the most of very slender clues. The soundness of the result must depend greatly upon the completeness with which the evidence has been surveyed; and I can only hope that no very vital pieces have been overlooked, whilst not venturing to claim too confidently that such is the truth. The scantiness of the record must also be my excuse for the frequent employment of the words 'perhaps' and 'probably'. When surmise takes the place of certainty a cautious form of statement is the only one permissible.

I have to acknowledge my great indebtedness to the articles of the Rev. Dr. George Edmundson on *The Dutch in Western Guiana* and *The Dutch on the Amazon* (*English Historical Review*, vols. xvi and xviii), for the light which they throw upon contemporary foreign authorities in which Dutch and English undertakings are closely intermingled. These papers must always serve as the foundation for any research into the history of this region.

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I

PRELIMINARIES TO THE COLONIZATION OF GUIANA

(i) *Neighbouring Colonies and the Political Background*

The prospects of English colonization in Guiana in the early seventeenth century were to a great extent dependent upon the strength and proximity of the possessions already acquired by Spain and Portugal. In 1604 those possessions were disposed as follows.

Spain occupied the four large West Indian islands of Cuba, Hispaniola, Jamaica, and Porto Rico. These, with Mexico and Central America as far south as to include Guatemala, formed the viceroyalty of New Spain. The lesser Antilles, now called the Windward and Leeward Islands, were left unoccupied by the Spaniards, who found them unattractive partly by reason of the ferocity of their Carib inhabitants, partly because they offered little hope of gold and silver, and largely because the north-east trade-winds rendered them difficult of access from the large islands first colonized. The remaining Spanish possessions constituted the viceroyalty of Peru, its units occupying or claiming amongst them all the coasts of South America except those of Guiana and Brazil. From the isthmus of Panama southwards this viceroyalty included New Granada, Peru itself, and Chile. From the latter it stretched across the Andes to the basins of the River Plate and its affluents. Of more direct interest to the present subject were the northern provinces of the

Peruvian jurisdiction. From the isthmus eastwards ran the coast of Tierra Firme or the Spanish Main terminating at Cumaná and the pearl fishery of Margarita. On this coast were well-established towns with Cartagena at their head. Beyond Cumaná were feebly held outposts, the large island of Trinidad with its Indian tribes imperfectly subdued, and the delta of the Orinoco with its settlement of San Thome, the nucleus of the intended province of Spanish Guiana. East of the Orinoco, Spain had not obtained, and never did obtain, an unchallenged foothold.

The Portuguese holding was smaller and more compact. Under the name of Brazil it comprised in 1604 the great easterly angle of the South American continent, with good seaports at Rio de Janeiro, Bahia de Todos Sanctos, and Pernambuco. From the latter the Portuguese spread progressively along the northern shore of Brazil, although in 1604 they had not reached the mouth of the Amazon. In 1612–15, however, they riveted their hold upon the province of Maranhão, founding in the latter year the town of Nossa Senhora de Belem or Pará, within the eastern limit of the Amazon delta.

Between this western outpost of Portugal and the eastern outposts of the Spanish Main lay the long stretch of Guiana or the Wild Coast, running from south-east to north-west, and constituting the only considerable margin of tropical America as yet unattempted by European pioneers. The vast basin of the Amazon, in many respects the most accessible area of the continent, remained unsubdued and virtually unexplored, although its waters would float a sea-going ship from the Atlantic to Peru. For a century the Peninsular nations had been content to claim without exploiting this possession. It was not wonderful that the prize should tempt their northern

rivals when they in their turn applied themselves to colonial expansion.

To those northern rivals, when first they cast their eyes upon Guiana and the Amazon, the power of Spain seemed formidable in itself, yet ineffective by reason of the easterly trade-wind. That of Portugal, better placed for active interference, they discounted, somewhat unwarrantably as the event was to prove. Portugal seemed falling into decline, exhausted by her first wonderful outburst across the oceans. Since 1580 she had been the vassal of Spain, sharing the latter's disasters and seeing her own colonial interests neglected by the slow-moving statesmen of Madrid. 'Who so cowardly as a Portugal?' Sir James Lancaster's contemptuous remark, after his exploits in the east and at Pernambuco, correctly indicates the estimation in which the nation was held at the close of the sixteenth century. But in South America the contempt was misplaced. Portuguese colonists, hampered as they were, showed more vitality than did those of Spain. They moved forward whilst the latter stood still. And after the national resurrection under the house of Braganza in 1640 the Brazilians showed themselves able not only to make good their new hold upon the Amazon but also to evict from north-eastern Brazil the Dutch conquerors who had long regarded that country as their own.

For each of the new sea-powers—England, France, and the United Provinces—colonization meant expansion of commerce rather than expansion of race or sovereignty: the latter were incidental and subserved the former. Spain, however, despising true commerce and specializing in the pursuit of treasure and the conversion of the heathen, emphasized sovereignty. The mines were the

king's mines, and the missionary bishops the subordinates of the Church in Spain. The administration of the colonies centred at home, whence proceeded innumerable slow-travelling instructions prescribing in principle and detail the conduct of the viceroys and lesser governors through whom absolute authority sought to lay its hand upon the colonists. The method was cumbrous and, once established, unalterable, for it formed character no less surely than did the glittering wealth seized by the first *conquistadores*. Resistance to unwise commands was not by way of reasoned discussion but of tumult, and quasi-revolutionary movements were frequent. The Portuguese, more mercantile by instinct, yet followed the same method. For their colonists, Lisbon was ever the fount of authority, appointing and recalling its deputies, who ruled without reference to the opinion of the governed.

Among the new colonial powers, on the other hand, freedom of private enterprise and the abstention of the state from interference were more or less common. England, until the Commonwealth, expanded in this manner exclusively. Under the first two Stuarts, the Crown founded not a single colony, and only took over the administration of one, Virginia, some seventeen years after its first establishment. France, especially under Richelieu, sought to combine both methods by means of chartered companies, rigidly controlled by the state but drawing their funds from private subscription and professing to aim at private profit. Side by side with these companies, however, France allowed considerable scope to the private adventurer, and he was responsible for most of the pioneer work into whose fruits the companies entered. The Dutch in the East employed the method of the state-controlled company almost from the

outset. Its success there was largely due to the peculiar situation of their richest possessions, in which the occupation of a few strategic points yielded a virtual certainty of excluding interlopers. In the Atlantic area Dutch private enterprise enjoyed free scope until 1621, when the state by the formation of the West India Company sought to combine the plantation colonies of Guiana, the trading posts at New Amsterdam and in the Caribbean, the African slave trade, and the privateering war upon Spain, all under the management of a great national monopoly. Dutch expansion emphasized profit-hunting more exclusively than did any other. Missionary enterprise made no appeal to them, and the political development of their colonies seems to have been ignored as much by the colonists themselves as by the home authorities. The Dutch West India Company was successful in its early years, so long as the wars with Spain continued. When the sources of plunder were closed to it, and it had to rely solely upon colonial development, its methods were seen to be inadequate. They had checked the private enterprise which still carried the English forward; and they had not produced the sentiment of racial sovereignty and unity which through all disasters maintained the hold of Spain upon the vast areas she had seized in her prime. The Dutch fallacy was that the West could be treated like the far East. In the early part, however, of the period with which we have now to deal, they were not yet committed to it; and when they adopted it in 1621, at the reopening of a desperate war, it appeared in the guise of a beneficial arrangement which England thought more than once of imitating.

Turning to the political circumstances of England in their bearing upon the Guiana enterprise, we find that

the most prominent was the apparent pro-Spanish policy of James I. In reality James was not so much pro-Spanish as pacific. His desire was to terminate the era of religious warfare in which, from one point of view, the contest between Elizabethan England and Philip II had been an incident. Accordingly he made peace with Spain in 1604 and promoted the Dutch-Spanish truce of 1609, in each case on the basis of the existing state of affairs. The combatants were to stand fast at the point they had reached without harking back to remote causes, and without prejudice to each nation's future development of its own interests. For the future, negotiation was to supplant battle as the solvent of difficulties, and so strongly did James hold to his method that he was mocked on the continent for his habit of sending overseas armies not of soldiers but of diplomats. It was a fine ideal, marred by weaknesses in the character of him who conceived it. His early plan of a Spanish alliance in the cause of humanity became tainted by the hope of financial aid against his own recalcitrant Commons. His subservience to personal favourites among his courtiers introduced unworthy motives into his policy, and the abuse became doubly scandalous when this undue influence fell into the hands of Count Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador who haunted the council-chamber during the latter half of his reign. Had James been a far greater man it is doubtful if he could have averted the storm which was to break upon Europe in the Thirty Years' War. As it was, his well-meant efforts failed in their great object, forced him into opposition to the general sentiments of his people, and produced in the colonial sphere a hesitation and want of purpose which wrought greater damage than he intended. James was no enemy of English expansion,

but he desired more cautious progress than did some of his subjects. His lack of firmness allowed the forward party a greater licence at times than he was prepared to concede in permanence. Hence arose the alternate favour and disfavour which, as our narrative will show, fell to the lot of the Guiana projectors, operating in a debatable region and needing the utmost tact and constancy at the helm of their state.

With the accession of Charles I in 1625 all seemed changed. Diplomatic subtleties were to be things of the past, and the word of the day was a straightforward challenge to Spain which all could understand. The country, enriched by twenty years of peace, was ripe for a great outburst of aggressive expansion. The list of colonial undertakings of the early years of Charles—accomplished, attempted, or projected—is of surprising length. In addition to the East India Company's factories there were plantations existing and developing in Virginia, the Bermudas, the Pilgrims' Plymouth, Newfoundland, and St. Kitts. The new period saw the initiation or renewal of attempts upon Nova Scotia and New France, Massachusetts and the neighbouring regions, Maryland, Barbados, Nevis and the adjacent islands, Guiana and the Amazon delta, Providence Island off the Mosquito Coast, and the African slaving stations. And among the projects merely advocated were Sir Robert Heath's plan for planting Carolina, another for a settlement in Florida to be peopled by French Huguenots, the petition of the Mainwarings for a grant of Fernando Noronha off the Brazilian coast, that of Daniel Gookin for the legendary isle of St. Brandan's, that of Sir William Courteen for *Terra Australis*, and finally the scheme for an aggressive West India Company on the Dutch model, to sweep Spain from

the Caribbean. Had Charles been the man to lead the nation in the character of a hero-king, with sword in one hand and Protestant Bible in the other, he might have done it with fairer prospects than any monarch had enjoyed before. It was well for the long future of England that different ideals called him.

The Guiana project obtained fresh support from the energy of this period: the first seven years of the new reign are the most crowded in the record of these English expeditions to South America. But with all their persistence the adventurers were unable to make good their footing on the Amazon, and in attempting to do so they used up the resources which might have carried them to success in the less important rivers. The Dutch West India Company pursued a more cautious policy. It abandoned the Amazon earlier than we did, and riveted a firm grasp upon western Guiana. Then the English colonizing outburst changed its direction. The stream of emigration continued, but it went all to the peaceful colonies of North America and the outer Antilles where there was less risk of wasting capital in conflict with European enemies. The critical decision was that of Charles I in 1629 to dispense with parliaments and rule as an absolute monarch. Peace with France and Spain became essential to reduce expenditure, and so what might have proved a second and more solid Elizabethan epoch came to a premature close. The revolt of Portugal from Spain in 1640 might have offered new prospects in the Amazon had England been able to seize the advantage. But her own civil war was in sight, and it was in the character of exiles that her nobles and courtiers, always the chief supporters of Guiana plantations, were destined to cross the seas.

The last episode with which this book will deal, the proprietary colony of Surinam, belongs to a different world from the preceding, the world of organized expansion and the mercantile colonial system. Promising colonies after 1649 were no longer allowed to die from lack of support. But they were exposed to conquest in war and sacrifice for other considerations in the making of peace. And this in 1667 put an end to the last English colony on the soil of South America until the acquisition of the present British Guiana by conquest at the close of the eighteenth century.

(ii) *The Pre-*1604 *Voyages*

The first connexion of Englishmen with the north coast of South America may have taken place before the opening of Elizabeth's reign. Hakluyt records that William Hawkins of Plymouth made three voyages to Brazil in 1530 and subsequent years. A letter written by Hawkins in 1536 shows that he was still engaged in sending out ships on what is reasonably certain to have been the same business.[1] Various merchants of Southampton were conducting a Brazil trade in 1540–2, and one of them built a fort near Bahia. And in 1540 a London ship sailed for Brazil, traded and fought with the natives, and returned by way of the West Indies.[2] Some of these expeditions, and especially the last-mentioned, may well have led to contact with the Guiana coast, included under the vaguely used designation of Brazil. Another approach to South America lay through the Spanish sphere. We have records showing that English merchants could make their

[1] S. P., Henry VIII, § 113, f. 180.
[2] *English Historical Review*, vol. xxiv, p. 96.

way with little difficulty to the West Indies and Mexico provided that they sailed in Spanish ships and conformed to the Catholic religion; and there is no reason why they should not have gone to the Main in the same manner. It is possible that some forgotten pioneers of this sort furnished the information upon which Sir John Hawkins, the son of William, acted in his attempt to force an open trade under his own country's flag in the years 1562–8. During those years he was responsible for four trading expeditions, three of which he commanded in person. The first visited the Spanish West Indies. The other three traded along the shore of the Spanish Main, disposing of negroes captured in Africa on the passage out. Hawkins met with disaster at San Juan de Ulua in Mexico in 1568, and thenceforward abandoned the enterprise.

Drake, who had served under Hawkins and suffered at San Juan, converted armed trading into a warfare of reprisal, the recognized mode of redress against offenders not amenable to the jurisdiction of the Admiralty Courts. In 1570–3 he made three voyages to the neighbourhood of the Gulf of Darien and the Isthmus of Panama, from the last of which he returned with valuable booty. Less famous imitators followed in his steps, whilst he himself turned to other fields, making his voyage of circumnavigation in 1577–80. Then came regular war with Spain with the expedition of 1585–6 as its opening move. After raiding the West Indies, Drake plundered the Main and took Cartagena, its capital, at which place he rested for several weeks. Some of the English officers advised its permanent retention, a measure which might well have changed the course of subsequent colonial history; but losses from sickness enforced the abandonment of the prize. The naval campaigns of 1587–9 intervened to

keep most of the English adventurers in European waters, and the Caribbean had some respite from their activities.

Hitherto none had, so far as is certainly known, paid any visits to the coast of Guiana itself. But during the last decade of the sixteenth century a number of English explorers began to pry into the mysteries of this lonely region. Before describing their proceedings it is necessary to define the sense in which the word Guiana was then employed. Like Florida, Virginia, and Newfoundland, it covered in its original application a larger area than it does to-day. In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries it signified the country bordered on the east by the Amazon and on the west by the Orinoco, and including the lower courses and deltas of both those rivers. The Atlantic washed its northern coast, broken by the estuaries of numerous streams, of large volume although not for the most part capable of navigation very far into the interior. The southern limits were less clearly defined, some considering Guiana as stretching only to the watershed of the lesser rivers, others regarding the whole length of the Amazon as constituting its inland boundary. The rivers formed the only gates of entry into the country, otherwise impassable by reason of swamps, jungle, and mountains. This physical characteristic dictated the severance of the natives into small independent communities, each inhabiting its own watercourse, and in after days the like severance of the European newcomers into isolated groups, tending to the formation of trading factories rather than true colonies of the plantation type. To early Dutch and English visitors, in dread of Spanish power, this difficulty of communication was an attractive feature. Ralegh's arguments about the defensibility of the

Orinoco by a few forts at its entrance are well known. A Dutch memorial of 1603 takes a similar view:

> 'The said province is made difficult of access from the territory of the two aforesaid nations [Spain and Portugal], not only by the aforesaid great distance, but also by the many high mountains and great wildernesses and forests, and is separated and cut off by very deep and mighty rivers. The sea along the coast is very shallow everywhere, and the entrances to all harbours are also set with shoals, banks and sands, so that they can be held open for friends by means of beacons and buoys, and closed to all enemies by removing these.' [1]

It cannot be said that the subsequent history of Guiana lends much weight to this tactical argument; for the river-settlements of the English, Spaniards, French, and Dutch were taken with great ease when attacked from the sea on several occasions during the seventeenth century.

After the Armada campaigns and the failure of the Elizabethan colony in Virginia the chief interest of the adventurers centred for a time upon the hope of taking plate fleets and East Indiamen at the Azores. The circumstances of Grenville's death in 1591 showed that the Spanish government was bestirring itself to guard this focus of trade routes, and it was then that the western seas became once more the chief attraction for the privateering leaders, and Guiana entered for the first time within the sphere of their activities.

In 1594–5 Sir Robert Dudley undertook a voyage to the West Indies,[2] notable for our purpose only because he touched at Trinidad and looked into the mouth of the

[1] Hague, Rijksarchief, printed in *Report of U.S. Commission on the Boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana*, Washington, 1897, vol. ii, pp. 27–36.

[2] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, MacLehose edition, vol. x, p. 203.

Orinoco. Otherwise his expedition was of an ordinary type: as he himself wrote to Hakluyt, 'so common is it indeed to many, as it is not woorth the registring'. On 1st February 1595 he reached Trinidad, where he made some explorations on shore and heard that the Spaniards were too poor and too strong to be worth attacking. Then he made inquiries of the Indians about the Empire of Guiana, thought to lie on the upper course of the Orinoco, concerning which he had already received rumours through one Captain Harper, a prisoner among the Spaniards at the Canaries. Trouble with his crew prevented Dudley from entering the Orinoco in person. He had to content himself with sending a boat's crew, who returned after sixteen days with reports, collected from the natives, of gold mines, of people who powdered their bodies with gold dust, 'and farre beyond them a great towne called El Dorado, with many other things'. But the exploring party had suffered great hardships and were disinclined to repeat the adventure, so he sailed away northwards to seek plunder in the Caribbean.

Dudley quitted Trinidad on 12th March 1595, and ten days later Sir Walter Ralegh arrived at the same anchorage, Punta de Gallo, having sailed from England on 6th February. Ralegh's purpose differed from Dudley's in that it was definitely limited to the discovery and subjugation of the Empire of Guiana, whereas his precursor had regarded this as an attractive side-issue to an ordinary privateering voyage. Ralegh had heard the El Dorado stories several years before, and was prepared to make a much more determined attempt to probe the mystery. His own writings and the labours of his biographers have made his proceedings widely known, and it will be sufficient to summarize them here.

He had already sent out Jacob Whiddon on a voyage of reconnaissance in 1594. Whiddon had been civilly received by Antonio de Berreo, the Spanish governor of Trinidad, himself devoted to the El Dorado quest; but the only result of the expedition seems to have been that Berreo obtained information of the English intentions whilst giving none of his own, and that Ralegh was little the wiser for the efforts of his subordinate. Ralegh himself acted with more energy. With the crews of his five ships he had a sufficient force to open friendly relations with the Indians of Trinidad in defiance of Berreo's prohibition, and then to storm the Spanish town of San Josef and capture the governor himself. He regarded this measure as the more necessary since he knew that a lieutenant of Berreo's might be expected with reinforcements from Spain at any moment. Having secured his communications, Ralegh took a hundred men in five boats and plunged into the Orinoco delta. By great good fortune in securing the services of a native pilot he made his way to a distance of 400 miles from the coast. All that he heard confirmed his belief in the golden city, but the flooding of the rivers at length stopped further progress. He found that isolated Spanish pioneers were at work washing for gold dust, and on the downward journey Lawrence Keymis discovered what he took to be a rich mine a few miles from the main channel.[1] The adventurers brought away a few samples of ore, but lack of tools, time and victuals prevented them from investigating more fully. Ralegh was back in England in August 1595, after an absence of six months.

Such was Ralegh's achievement. Its permanent

[1] The exact location of this mine was never revealed by Keymis or Ralegh.

significance was that, in spite of much incredulity expressed by jealous contemporaries, it led to the foundation of a school of enterprise directed to the exploitation not only of the Orinoco but also of the other Guiana rivers eastward to the Amazon. Concerning his main objective, the comment of a shrewd seventeenth-century historian is worth noting, as a suggestion rather than as an established truth. It is that the Spaniards played upon his predilection for a belief in the golden city, purposely putting manufactured evidence in his way, 'having suffered him to take such proofes as they had fitted for that end, on designe to keepe Sir Walter Rawleigh from those parts that were really rich & in their possessions, for its certaine there is noe such thing as the Citty Elrado; although the uper part of Guiana hath store of gold, but its found as in Guinney in small grains'.[1]

The same year, 1595, saw the victorious raid of Sir George Somers and Sir Amyas Preston upon the Spanish Main, and the last unhappy venture of Drake and Hawkins, which also touched upon the western portion of the Main in the direction of the Gulf of Darien. In 1596 Sir Anthony Sherley passed along the whole of the Main in the course of a privateering venture. None of these expeditions sighted the coast of Guiana.

Meanwhile Ralegh, although himself engaged in 1596 upon the great raid which took and sacked Cadiz, had not lost touch with Guiana. He had left behind in the Orinoco two Englishmen to reside with a friendly tribe

[1] Colonel John Scott's notes for a history of Guiana and the West Indies, Sloane MSS., 3662, ff. 44b, 45, written *c.* 1667. Against this theory, however, it should be noted that others besides Ralegh were convinced that Berreo had a sincere belief in El Dorado.

and collect information about the country. One of these men was believed to have been killed by a wild beast. The other, Francis Sparrey, fell into the hands of some Spaniards sent on purpose to arrest him. They took him to the governor of Margarita early in 1596. After some years' captivity he reached England again in 1602, and wrote an account of his adventures which Purchas included in his *Pilgrims*.[1] Ralegh had promised the Indian chiefs that they should hear from him before many months had elapsed, and he accordingly dispatched Lawrence Keymis to pursue the discovery with a ship and a pinnace. Keymis sailed from Portland on 26th January 1596, and made a landfall on the west side of the Amazon delta on 14th March. This divergence from the former course was intentional—he wrote, 'we fell so farre to the Southwards by your lordship's direction'; and it gave an opportunity to survey the whole Guiana coast before arriving at the Orinoco. Aided by the trade wind Keymis covered the distance in twenty-three days, in which time he sighted or heard of the estuaries of forty great rivers

[1] Purchas, *Pilgrims*, MacLehose edition, vol. xvi, pp. 301–9. For Sparrey's capture and the supposed fate of his companion see also letter of Pedro de Salazar, Governor of Margarita, Add. MSS., 36317, ff. 31b, 32. One extract from Sparrey's account of the Orinoco delta is worth noting: 'Tar or Taroo is an Iland, which is to the South South West of Orenoco. To which place I went, because they said there was never any that inhabited in this Iland, but that it was in the manner of a bayting place for the Caribes, when they had stollen people, which they meant to eate.' Did Defoe read Purchas, and draw from this passage the conception which gives the dramatic interest to his story of Crusoe's island? Sparrey is silent on the fate of his companion. The latter was not in fact dead, the report having been spread by the Indians to put the Spaniards off the scent. He remained living among them for over twenty years, until retrieved by the expedition of 1617. His name was Hugh Goodwin.

and numerous smaller ones. He reported a migration of the Indians from river to river owing to the advance of the Spaniards, but declared that the latter had never been east of the Essequibo. His pinnace, which had parted company at sea, made an independent exploration, sailing up the Wiapoco as far as the first rapids and entering three other rivers. In the Orinoco Keymis communicated with the Indians who had known Ralegh, and picked up a great deal of untrustworthy information about gold mines, the city of Manoa, and tribes of monstrosities with faces in their chests. The most valuable part of his account is his table of the successive rivers from the Amazon to the Orinoco, with notes upon the tribes, topography, and productions. It represents the earliest English survey of the Guiana coast which now survives.[1]

Shortly after the return of Keymis, Ralegh made ready the pinnace *Watte* for a third voyage to Guiana under Captain Leonard Berry. After being delayed by bad weather in the Channel, she finally cleared from Weymouth on 27th December 1596, and reached Guiana in the neighbourhood of the Amazon on 27th February 1597. The object of the voyage, as related by Thomas Masham, one of the gentlemen adventurers, was to examine the Guiana rivers more thoroughly than had before been done, in the hope of finding a way to 'that upper rich countrey' where Manoa was supposed to lie. Accordingly, the explorers penetrated the Wiapoco, the Marawine, and the Corentine until stopped by rapids. In the last-mentioned river they encountered the *John* of London, commanded by

[1] Hakluyt, vol. x, p. 452. A map, of Spanish origin and evidently of earlier date, is to be found in Linschoten's *Description de l'Amerique*, Amsterdam, 1619. Its author shows no settlements in Trinidad, and does not indicate that the Orinoco is a great river.

a Captain Leigh, who kept them company for the remainder of the voyage. This was not the Charles Leigh who afterwards colonized the Wiapoco, for he was that year engaged upon a voyage to Newfoundland and Cape Breton, whither he sailed from London on 8th April.[1] Berry and Masham spent over nine weeks upon the coast. They heard that 300 Spaniards were in the Essequibo, but at the time (not long afterwards) when Masham wrote his account, these were for the most part reported to be dead or dispersed. In fact there seem to have been no permanent Spanish settlements east of the Orinoco. The English, as enemies of Spain, were everywhere well received by the natives, upon whom Ralegh's kindliness had made a lasting impression. They gave a favourable account of the country, the people, and the productions, which included cotton and native-grown tobacco. This voyage was followed by others of which hints but no detailed records survive, and a stock of information was accumulated which rendered possible the planting of colonies early in the following century.

Meanwhile the English and Dutch were opening an extensive trade along the Spanish Main. A Spanish letter of 1596 shows this business to have been already well established.[2] The intruders brought cloth, slaves, and manufactures, and took away pearls and tobacco. The great salt pan at Punta de Araya was also an attraction offering a lucrative cargo when bartering with the Spanish colonists failed. So alarmed were the authorities at this traffic that the governor of Cumaná proposed in 1600 to poison the salt, although he did not indicate the means by which so extensive an operation could be achieved.[3]

[1] Hakluyt, vol. viii, p. 166. [2] Add. MSS., 36317, ff. 51–79.
[3] Add. MSS., 36317, f. 372.

The official mind seems not to have compassed the idea that the best means of excluding interlopers from the Spanish possessions would have been a vigorous exploitation by the legitimate owners. On the contrary, we find a decision taken a few years later to dispeople Cumanagoto on account of the trade of the inhabitants with the heretics, and a decree in 1607 forbidding the cultivation of tobacco in Caracas and Venezuela for the same reason.[1]

This volume of traffic on the Main must naturally have aided an extension of enterprise to Guiana, although, owing to the fact that Hakluyt sent his great work to the press in 1598–9, the record is scantier than for the preceding period. In 1598 occurred the earliest known Dutch expedition along the Guiana coast. In the Caurora, next to the Cayenne, a party of Caribs hailed the voyagers, asking if they were 'Anglees'; and in the Cuyuni they met an English ship commanded by Captain John Meysinge of London.[2] In 1599 again there is a Spanish report of Englishmen in the Amazon.[3] When we consider the enormous destruction that has taken place in the records of private enterprise for this period, and the haphazard nature of the processes which have resulted in the preservation of such as remain, it seems a fair inference that the interest of Englishmen in Guiana did not die out during the last five years of Elizabeth's reign, but that they continued to visit the friendly natives of the coast and obtain from them the native-grown commodities which commanded a ready sale in European markets. The voyage was short, safe, and inexpensive, suitable for small

[1] Add. MSS., 36319, ff. 54, 141, &c.

[2] *Report of U.S. Commission*, vol. ii, pp. 13–22.

[3] Add. MSS., 36317, f. 237. These 'Englishmen' may have been the Dutch pioneers who founded Forts Orange and Nassau on the Xingú tributary. See below, p. 66.

craft lightly manned, offering a chance of booty as well as trade, and undertaken with a reasonable certainty of fair winds outwards and homewards for the greater part of the distance to be traversed. We may regard therefore the period between the close of Ralegh's operations and the beginning of colonization as one of maintained intercourse between the English and the Guiana tribes, with mutual goodwill induced by the common enmity to Spain.

II

THE WIAPOCO COLONIES, 1604–13

(i) *Charles Leigh's Colony*, 1604–6

Authorities. The authorities for this enterprise are sufficiently copious in detail to permit of a satisfactory elucidation of the greater part of the story. They consist of—(1) Charles Leigh's letter to the Privy Council from Guiana, 2nd July 1604, in State Papers Domestic, James I, vol. 8, No. 87, abstracted in *Colonial Calendar*, 1574–1660, p. 5. (2) John Nicholl's *An Houre Glasse of Indian Newes*, a narrative printed in London, 1607. It is mainly concerned with an attempt to colonize St. Lucia, but it gives some facts about Leigh's undertaking not found elsewhere. (3) Purchas's account of *Captaine Charles Leigh his voyage to Guiana and plantation there* (*Pilgrims*, vol. xvi, p. 309). Purchas gives no indication of the origin of this narrative. It is written in the first person, evidently by a member of the expedition, and breaks off abruptly, perhaps by the agency of the editor's scissors, the last date mentioned being September 1604. (4) Charles Leigh's letter to his brother, Sir Oliph Leigh, of the same date as that to the Privy Council, and dispatched by the same ship (Purchas, vol. xvi, p. 316). It appears to be given without abridgement. (5) John Nicholl's *True Relation*, &c. (Purchas, xvi, p. 324). This is an abridgement of Nicholl's *Houre Glasse*, omitting important details and deteriorating the style of the original, some passages of which are in graphic and impressive prose. It is valueless to those who can gain access to the *Houre Glasse*, two copies of which are in the British Museum. (6) *Part of a Treatise written by Master William Turner* (Purchas, vol. xvi, p. 352). This is another mutilated account of which the original is not traceable. It is a description of the same events as narrated by Nicholl, but from the point of view of the mariners, who were hostile to Nicholl and the passengers. It is, however, mainly concerned with St. Lucia, and its bearing upon Guiana is only incidental. (7) *The Relation of Master John Wilson . . . one of the last ten that returned into England from Guiana*, 1606 (Purchas, vol. xvi, p. 338). This gives additional details about the planting of the colony, and rounds off the story left incomplete by the truncation of (3).

THE Wiapoco River is now known as the Oyapok, but the more euphonious form was commonly used in the seventeenth century, and will be adopted in the following narrative. In spite of its name, meaning 'the long river', it is one of the shorter streams of Guiana, rising in the Tumuc-Humac mountains some 200 miles from the sea, and plunging over a series of falls and rapids until it reaches the level of the coastal plain at a distance of fifty miles from its mouth. From the sea to the first obstruction, now called the Robinson Fall, it was navigable to the ships of the early colonists. The estuary, comparable to that of the Thames, opens out in a single channel to a width of about ten miles, and receives the waters of three minor streams before merging at Cape Orange with the Atlantic. The winds along the coast blow constantly from the north-east from December to March, intermittently from March to July, and from the south-east from July to December. The rainy season corresponds with that of the north-east winds, and the dry season with the remainder of the year, with little variation of temperature between the two. The native inhabitants of the region were of two broadly distinct races, the Caribs and the Arawaks, split into numerous independent tribes whom the early explorers were prone to regard as separate stocks. In 1604 the Wiapoco was occupied by Arawaks, but migrations were frequent owing to eastward pressure from the regions invaded by the Spaniards. In one respect it was an unfortunate choice for a first essay at settlement: its lower course proved particularly unhealthy, more especially at the beginning of the dry season when the sun drew up masses of vapour from the inundated soil.

Captain Charles Leigh had made a voyage of discovery to Guiana in 1602, and had selected the Wiapoco as the

site of his intended colony.[1] He returned to England and with his brother Sir Oliph Leigh and certain other adventurers raised the requisite funds. His own words imply that necessity drove him to the undertaking: 'the greevous rememberance of my untymly ffortunes at home enfforced me to undertake a verye daungerus enterprise'.[2] The motive is important, for it dictated the immediate attempt to establish a trade in the commodities of the country, instead of the more visionary scheme to find Manoa. The former is characteristic of the seventeenth century, the latter of the sixteenth, and it is interesting to note how suddenly the one superseded the other in Guiana in the year after Elizabeth's death. With a company of forty-six men and boys Leigh sailed from Woolwich on 21st March 1604, in a 50-ton ship named the *Olive Plant*.[3] Touching at Mogador and the Cape Verde Islands they stretched across the Atlantic and on 12th May sighted islands in the mouth of the Amazon. Here they did some petty trade with the natives, but soon sailed on along the coast to the Wiapoco, which they entered on 22nd May.

English visitors, including Leigh himself, were well known to the Arawak tribes in the river. Two of the natives had been in England and could speak a little of the language. They received him cordially and offered the use of their huts and gardens. He told them that he purposed to stay in their country for seven or eight months to seek for gold mines. They on their side entreated the English to settle among them and defend them against

[1] Nicholl's *Houre Glasse* (pages not numbered).

[2] Leigh's letter to the Privy Council.

[3] Or the *Phenix*, which was presumably her original name before she was acquired by Sir Oliph Leigh and his associates.

their mortal enemies the Caribs, who had driven them out of their former homes in other rivers and still persecuted them in their present settlement. Leigh, however, was not at first inclined to trust the Indians so entirely as to live cheek by jowl with them. He went up the river with a boat's crew taking soundings as far as the falls, which he estimated to be forty miles from the coast. Then he moved the ship to the foot of the falls, anchoring her under an eminence which he called Mount Oliph.[1]

A mutinous movement among the crew now came to a head. A party among them, instigated by the master, Martin Pring, wanted to go roving 'for spoyle and purchase' in the West Indies. Clearing jungle and planting foodstuffs were not to their taste, and at Mount Oliph the sight of the woods they were to fell increased their disgust. Accordingly they forced their captain from his purpose by squandering the victuals at such a rate that there was no choice between remaining to starve and returning to the Indians at the river's mouth. Thither they accordingly went, and after another tussle with the mutineers Leigh obtained a promise that they would stay and plant for one year. Martin Pring, however, deserted and took passage in an Amsterdam ship which they found trading in the river. This Hollander, and another which arrived later, proved to be thorns in Leigh's side. Their officers, although outwardly civil, contrived to prejudice the natives against the English and to outbid the latter for the commodities of the country.

After another conference with the chiefs, Leigh made

[1] Compare the action of the Virginia pioneers three years later, following their instructions to make a settlement as far up a navigable river as a ship could penetrate. The motive was defensibility against Spanish raids from the sea.

a bargain by which he was to occupy half a dozen huts in the village in return for assisting in defence against the Caribs. He was much struck by the profession of his hosts of a desire for Christian instruction, and undertook to have ministers sent out to the colony. He named the village Principium and the hill on which it stood Mount Howard. He further christened the Wiapoco the Caroleigh, and two tributaries the Olivoleigh and the Jotramleigh.

Being now settled, with a food supply apparently secure and a good prospect of collecting saleable merchandise, Leigh sent home his ship with the news. In her went five Indians, hostages for the good faith of their fellows, and only ten Englishmen, the other thirty-five remaining in the colony. She carried also letters to the King, the Lord Admiral, the Privy Council, and Sir Oliph Leigh. Of these the two former have not survived. The fact that they were written indicates the confidence felt by the adventurers that James would not hesitate to recognize the right of Englishmen to colonize lands claimed but not occupied by Spain: there was evidently nothing clandestine about the enterprise.[1] The letter to the Privy Council lays emphasis upon the prospects of missionary work, whilst that to Sir Oliph dilates upon the iniquities of 'my mutinors and monstrous sailours'. It also gives detailed information about the trading prospects: flax will grow

[1] An expression used by John Wilson (Purchas, xvi, p. 340) implies that Leigh had a commission from the King: 'At whose landing according unto the Generall his commission, they were all sworne unto certaine Articles, as that they should acknowledge Captaine Charles Leigh to bee their chiefe Generall of Guiana, under King James our King of Great Britaine . . .' There is, however, no trace of any such commission to be found in the Patent Rolls.

anywhere and very fast—an acre should yield from four to eight tons a year, worth £200–£400 at 6*d.* per lb.; cotton is also promising, and sugar canes will do better than in Barbary, the climate being especially suitable. Sir Oliph is desired to send out 100 men—labourers, gardeners, and carpenters; three or four pieces of ordnance, and small arms; and if possible two ships, one to be laden for home, the other to defend the river-mouth.

With these letters, dated 2nd July 1604, the *Olive Plant* sailed for England under Captain Edward Huntley, whom Leigh described as 'the worthiest young gentleman that ever went to sea'.[1]

Soon afterwards the Caribs from the River Cayenne made a raid on the Wiapoco. They came in eight canoes, but met with a warmer reception than they looked for. Leigh, distributing twenty-four Englishmen in canoes paddled by his allies, went out with trumpets blowing to meet the enemy, whom the white men's musketry soon put to flight. Leigh went next on a trading expedition up the Aracawa, where he found friendly tribes and obtained tobacco, cotton yarn, and cotton wool. Returning to the plantation he found most of the men sick 'and the Indians not so kind unto us as they had promised'. The unhealthy season had set in, and the steamy air produced agues and fluxes. The ground was so damp that it was necessary to sleep in hammocks and to keep fires burning near them all night. As for the Indians, they were

[1] Up to this point the story is based on Leigh's letters to the Council and to his brother, Purchas's account numbered (3) at the beginning of this section, and John Wilson's account numbered (7). These are not at variance on any important details except that Wilson gives the ship's name as the *Phenix* (which may have been an alternative title), and the date incorrectly as 1605. On many other points these accounts are mutually corroborative.

growing tired of supplying their guests' constant demand for victuals and commodities. As subsequent adventurers were to find, these savages parted generously with their goods when stocks were ample, but they lived from hand to mouth, having no capacity to accumulate beyond the needs of the moment. It was only by hard experience, both here and in the West Indies and in Virginia, that our pioneers learned that the true basis of a successful colony was a food supply maintained by their own efforts, independent alike of native aid and relief from home. The misunderstanding with the Indians led to a plot among them to murder the enfeebled Englishmen before the ship should return. But the wives of the hostages who had gone to England were afraid for their husbands' safety, and beat the instigator of the conspiracy. The matter coming to Leigh's ears he severely reproached the chiefs and consented to forgive them on receiving a new supply of foodstuffs.[1]

At some unspecified date in the autumn of 1604[2] Sir Oliph Leigh again dispatched the *Olive Plant*—or, as Wilson calls her, the *Phenix*—with supplies and thirty new colonists under Captain Huntley. The newcomers found nine of the original party dead, the rest sick, and Leigh himself 'very weak and much changed'; and there was general discouragement and disaffection in consequence. Leigh, however, gathered his energies, made the new men swear allegiance to himself as the King's representative, and led an expedition to the rivers Wia and

[1] The authority for events from 2 July to this point is the anonymous account in Purchas numbered (3) above.

[2] Wilson says 1605, but his chronology is obviously a year out: he corrects it himself towards the end of his narrative. The mistake may indeed be not his own but that of Purchas, his editor.

Cayenne, occupied by the Caribs. His motive was that these rivers were reported to be gold-bearing, whilst the Wiapoco was not. Leigh was for peaceful overtures to the Caribs, but he was obliged to make war upon them in order to secure the assistance of the Arawaks. With thirty-eight Englishmen and a number of Indians he sailed for the Wia in February 1605, his own men going in a pinnace constructed in the colony. They burned some Carib huts and returned empty-handed in the middle of March. They had been deterred from entering the Cayenne by hearing that an English ship was there commanded by one Johnson of Plymouth. Leigh was on bad terms with Johnson, having already forbidden him to trade in the Wiapoco.[1]

After the return of the raiding party misfortunes multiplied. Exposure to the rains during the expedition had led to a general increase of the fluxes and agues which had already proved so detrimental to the colony. The lack of European foods and medicines was severely felt, and Leigh, with the hand of death already upon him, determined suddenly to go to England in person to obtain supplies. Whilst the ship was lading he went on board, but died of the flux before she was ready to weigh. Huntley concealed his death and buried him secretly on 20th March, fearing lest the news might be the signal for a break-up of the colony and a general rush for home.[2] The *Olive Plant* thus sailed on 2nd April 1605,[3] with her crew under the impression that Leigh had remained behind, and the colonists in the belief that he had gone to England. It was this secrecy without doubt which gave

[1] Wilson's narrative is the authority for these events.
[2] Wilson, in Purchas, xvi, pp. 342–3.
[3] Wilson here and henceforward gives the correct year.

rise to the rumour afterwards spread at home that he had been murdered in his hammock on shore.[1]

The colony might still have been preserved by the prompt arrival of stores and reinforcements; and it was through no fault of Sir Oliph Leigh and his co-adventurers that these never appeared. Sir Oliph, after dispatching the *Olive Plant* in the autumn of 1604, made ready a larger vessel, the *Olive Branch*,[2] described by Wilson as a great fly-boat of 170 tons. In her, in addition to the crew, there went close upon seventy colonists, including some gentlemen-adventurers, under Captain Nicholas St. John. Another officer, Captain Catlin, commanded the ship, and was apparently not intended to remain in the colony. The *Olive Branch* sailed from Woolwich on 12th April 1605 On the voyage dissensions broke out, engendering 'heart-burning and malice' between the seamen and the passengers, of whom Nicholl was one. On reaching the Guiana coast the master allowed himself to be carried to leeward of the Wiapoco. He alleged that the current was unusually strong, but Nicholl blamed his incompetence. Whatever the cause, the accident proved the ruin not only of most of his passengers but also of the Wiapoco colony. For weeks they tried to beat back against wind and current, and then, having been over three months at sea and finding victuals running short, they gave up the attempt and bore away for the Antilles, where the majority were massacred by the Caribs of St. Lucia.[3]

So it happened that the great relief never reached the

[1] See William Turner's account, Purchas, xvi, p. 356.

[2] Nicholl's *Houre Glasse*. Purchas's summary of Nicholl says *Oliph Blossom*, but the original authority is followed in the case of this and other discrepancies.

[3] Nicholl's *Houre Glasse* is chiefly devoted to the tragedy at St. Lucia.

Wiapoco, and the surviving colonists, bereft of their commander, were likewise deserted by their friends at home. For when the *Olive Plant* brought to England the news of Charles Leigh's death, his brother did nothing more for the settlement. Probably he was at the end of his resources, for the expenses must have been heavy and could hardly have been covered by the lading taken in the *Olive Plant* when she went home for the last time.

In the Wiapoco there remained thirty-five persons under the command of one Richard Sacksie.[1] He himself with fourteen others shipped with a trader of Middelburg who came into the river and showed them much kindness. The Dutchman had heard of the existence of the colony and brought a cargo of negroes to sell to Leigh. He went on to Punta de Araya on the Main and transferred the Englishmen to other Dutch ships, which being taken by the Spaniards, 'they were cast overboard with the Hollanders'. On 21st May, as the Dutchman departed, a Frenchman from St. Malo appeared, who also behaved with humanity and took off ten more of the colonists, leaving ten behind. Of these, two soon died, but their places were filled by two other Englishmen who arrived unexpectedly from the interior. They were the survivors of a small party which Leigh had dispatched to trade, and reported that they had been in a very pleasant country forty miles inland.

It was now the middle of July 1605, and the ten Englishmen determined to make the best of their situation. They had grown acclimatized and recovered their health. It was evident that European ships frequently visited the river, and that they would not have to wait long for a

[1] From here to the end John Wilson's account is the sole authority.

passage home. Accordingly, in order not to return without some profit from their experiences, they began planting, raising twenty acres of flax and some tobacco. On 1st November the Indians told them that three ships were in the Amazon, of which one would come to the Wiapoco two months later, 'which proved to be true,' as Wilson remarks, 'but by what meanes they knew it I could not imagine, except it were by their divels meanes'. However, they began to pack their goods in anticipation. At the end of December the ship duly arrived, the *Hope* of Amsterdam, commanded by an Englishman named John Sims. He was bound by charter party to lie trading for six months in the Wiapoco and the Cayenne. At his departure on 31st May 1606 he left two factors behind, but took all the Englishmen with him, and the first Wiapoco colony came to an end. The whole party reached Europe in safety.[1]

[1] Col. John Scott, writing after the Restoration, and usually well informed on Guiana history, gives details of a French attempt to settle in the Wiapoco shortly after the departure of Leigh's colonists. In the course of a general enumeration of the Guiana ventures he says: 'The third setlemt was by three ships from France at Wiapoca anno 1607. And being 400 men, began to plant Tobacco, and to thinke themselves secure, and too franckly to converse with the natives, they were all cut off anno 1609 except a few Marriners.' (Sloane MSS., 3662, f. 39 b.) Scott served in the West Indies and Guiana in the war of 1664–7, and drew much of his information from Dutch prisoners who had been long in the country. His facts, where it is possible to check them, usually prove correct. It is curious, however, that Robert Harcourt, the next Englishman to plant in the Wiapoco in 1609, says nothing whatever about this French settlement. If Scott was right, Harcourt can hardly have failed to learn of the massacre of so large a body of Europeans shortly before his own arrival. Perhaps his desire to represent the English as the sole claimants to the country accounts for his suppression of the information.

With regard to the origin and finance of Leigh's attempt we are almost completely in the dark. On the other hand, the details of the life of the colonists and the conditions of their task are more ample than for any subsequent undertaking in Guiana. They have therefore been narrated at some length because of their bearing upon the interpretation of later records. From the foregoing story one or two generalizations emerge. In the first place, the climate was unsuitable for field labour by white men, and it was to native efforts that adventurers had to look for their merchandise. Enslavement of the natives was hardly practicable owing to the small force of the colonists, and it was not attempted; but they were of a docile disposition and were generally pleased to trade with Europeans. Factories rather than true colonies, even of the plantation type, were therefore the most promising undertakings in eastern Guiana so long as the natural products of the soil were saleable in Europe. The Dutch, with their usual acumen, appear to have realized this, and to have made little attempt to settle in the Wiapoco and the neighbouring rivers. The organized cultivation of tobacco and sugar of course needed European supervision, and afterwards led to the establishment of more regular settlements in western Guiana and on the Amazon. The germ of a considerable problem is also to be traced in the story of Leigh's colony. Its founders naturally wished to monopolize the trade of the river: only by so doing could they recover their outlay. But it was apparent that interlopers would continually arrive to tempt the settlers and their Indian vassals with offers of necessaries which might not be forthcoming from home; and a growing divergence would arise between the interests of the men on the spot and of their financial backers in England.

This in fact was the rock upon which most of these little private colonial enterprises split: the shareholders could not effectively control the pioneers, and whilst the latter sometimes grew rich the former nearly always lost their money. In the Guiana rivers we see in miniature the difficulty with which the whole mercantile empire of Britain sought to cope, with its system of navigation acts and prohibitions, throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

(ii) *Robert Harcourt's Colony*, 1609–13

Authorities. Of the fortunes of Robert Harcourt's colony there is only one narrative account, his own, and that covers only the three months during which the author himself remained in the locality. Some of his comrades stayed more than three years in Guiana, but of their doings we have no detailed record. Harcourt first published his *Relation of a Voyage to Guiana* in London in 1613. In 1626, when interest in the matter revived, he issued a second edition with added information bearing principally upon the adventures to the Amazon which had taken place in the interim. The additional matter is readily distinguishable by being enclosed between cuts of a hand with pointing finger (☞ . . . ☜). The first edition had a dedication to Prince Charles, and a preface to the readers and prospective adventurers: the second had also a newly written dedication to Charles I. The 1613 version, with the omission of the prefaces and of some informative matter at the end, was reprinted by Purchas (*Pilgrims*, vol. xvi, p. 358), and appears in a complete state in the *Harleian Miscellany*, 1810 edn., vol. vi. The 1626 edition has never been reprinted. To the record of Harcourt's own colony it adds nothing of importance, but it contains facts about the Amazon undertakings not found elsewhere, and for that purpose should be consulted in preference to the earlier issue. Harcourt's proceedings have left more traces in English archives than have those of Charles Leigh. The Patent Rolls contain copies of his Commission of 1609 and his Letters Patent of 1613. Of the latter an additional copy exists among the muniments of the Corporation of Plymouth. There are also a few allusions to him in the Privy Council registers and other Record Office papers. John Smith's

True Travels briefly refers to him. The *Dictionary of National Biography* contains a useful collection of the facts relative to his affairs at home, but it is in error, as will be shown in a later chapter,[1] in stating that he never returned to Guiana, and that he died in England.

Robert Harcourt, born probably in 1574, was the eldest son of Sir Walter Harcourt of Stanton Harcourt in Oxfordshire. He obtained the favour of Henry, Prince of Wales, and through him the countenance of James I for an attempt to plant in Guiana after the dissolution of Leigh's settlement.[2] His commission under the Great Seal for this purpose was dated 13th February 1609.[3] Prince Henry's interest in colonization, and his partiality for Ralegh and his Guiana projects in particular, are well known.

On 23rd March 1609, some five weeks after receiving his commission, Harcourt sailed from Dartmouth with the *Rose*, 80 tons, the *Patience*, a pinnace of 36 tons, and the *Lily*, a shallop of 9 tons. He had with him his brother Michael and his cousin Thomas Harcourt, Captains[4] Edward Fisher, Edward Gifford, and Edward Harvey, and a company of ninety-seven men of whom sixty were landsmen intended to settle in Guiana. Going by way of the

[1] See below, p. 115.

[2] *Relation*, 1626 ed., dedications to Prince Charles and Charles I.

[3] Patent Roll, 6 James I, part 4. The commission was not an authority to annex territory, but simply to exercise the usual disciplinary powers of a naval commander.

[4] The rank of captain seems often to have been a courtesy title freely bestowed on prominent members of these expeditions. It did not of necessity imply that its bearer held the King's commission. The leaders who did so, like Leigh and Harcourt, distributed captaincies at their pleasure. Later in the century we find the holders of proprietary patents in the West Indies creating majors and colonels in profusion. Barbados, about 1650, seems almost to have been populated with colonels.

Canaries the squadron made a good passage and anchored on 11th May within sight of land in the Amazon estuary. Harcourt did not linger here, although he made a resolution to explore the great river at some future date. His present purpose was to reach the Wiapoco, which he entered on 17th May.

The Indians received him in a friendly manner, especially as he brought with him a chief of their tribe who had been in England more than four years. Presumably this man was one of the hostages sent home by Leigh in 1604. Harcourt learned that an English ship, dispatched by Ralegh, had been trading in the river in 1608. He called a meeting of the chiefs, reminded them how Ralegh had delivered from Spanish tyranny the natives of Trinidad and had befriended those of Orinoco, excused Ralegh's failure to return by dilating on his great employments in England, and announced that he had come to settle among them to defend them against their enemies the Caribs. He would, he concluded, pay liberally for victuals and merchandise with axes, hatchets, knives, beads, mirrors, 'Jewes trumps', and such other things as they held in delight. His promises being accepted, he landed his men and took possession of the village upon the hill overlooking the anchorage—the 'Principium on Mount Howard' of Charles Leigh—and settled down to a month's inaction whilst awaiting the close of the rainy season.

It was not Harcourt's intention to remain in person in Guiana: his brother Michael was to govern the colony whilst he himself looked after its commercial interests in England. But before going home he wished to learn as much as possible about the prospects of the country, and he therefore sent out exploring parties in several directions. Captain Fisher went westwards to the territory of a chief

named Leonard, a Christian who had been in England with Ralegh and who, out of respect for him, travelled a hundred miles to see the English newcomers. Leonard told Harcourt that the Wiapoco estuary was unhealthy, and invited him to his own country, on higher ground and with its forests interspersed with open meadow land. Harcourt went, and was favourably impressed, although he seems only to have planted a few men there as factors. Michael Harcourt and Harvey found other pleasant lands of the same sort to the westward, and were everywhere well received, even by the Caribs of Cayenne, where also five Englishmen remained.

All this we have from the *Relation*, which further describes in great detail the customs of the natives and the products of the soil. Amongst the latter it declares, 'the first and principall commodity of estimation are the sugar-canes, whereof in those parts there is great plenty'. Next in importance come cotton wool[1] and 'a naturall Hempe or Flax, almost as fine as silke'; various dyestuffs, gums, and drugs; speckled wood for furniture, 'worth thirtie or fortie pounds a Tun'; and lastly tobacco, which is mentioned with an apology owing to the prejudice entertained by James I and many of his more conservative subjects.

In July, Harcourt himself led a party in search of the golden mountains concerning which some of his company had formed great expectations. But gold in the Wiapoco region proved illusory, and Harcourt, unlike some of his precursors, was courageous enough to say so, although he believed from various indications that it might exist in

[1] Cotton was even at this early date in demand in England: Harcourt mentions that it is good for making fustians and for use as 'bumbaste'.

the interior. The frustration of immediate hopes nearly kindled a mutiny which had to be appeased by fair promises. On 14th August he impressed the natives by formally taking possession of all Guiana from the Amazon to the Orinoco 'by Turfe and Twigge in the behalfe of our Sovereigne Lord King James . . . wherewith the Indians seemed to be well content and pleased'.

He had purposed remaining some time longer in the country 'to performe a businesse which might have proved profitable and honourable unto us'—whether in the way of trade or discovery he does not state. But a circumstance now arose which dictated an immediate return. The ships' officers reported that the beer and water casks, being hooped with wood instead of iron, were falling in pieces, and that unless the ships sailed at once they would never get home. Accordingly Robert Harcourt set sail on 18th August, appointing his brother Michael as governor, with Harvey and Gifford to assist. Going westwards along the coast he made further explorations in the river-mouths, leaving Unton Fisher, brother of Edward, with two other Englishmen in the Marawine. Fisher made considerable progress in exploring the course of the Marawine, thinking it a likely route to Manoa, until an accidental death by drowning put an end to his career. The ships quitted the mainland of Guiana on 10th September and were steered for Trinidad, at which island they fell in with three English vessels engaged on a West Indian venture. From Trinidad, Harcourt turned northwards, visited various islands, and 'disembogued' from the Caribbean by way of the Leeward group. He arrived in Ireland on 29th November 1609, having lost but two men during the whole course of the expedition.

The outline of the project is now traceable. The

Wiapoco, with its good anchorage and friendly Indians, was to be the head-quarters of a system of trading factories spread over eastern Guiana—Harcourt, as we have seen, had planted three of these subordinate posts before his departure. These factories were to yield a financial return by exchanging English manufactures for native-grown products; and the business was to be gradually intensified by the introduction of more Englishmen to act as supervisors of native labour and to systematize the raising of regular crops of sugar and tobacco. The latter development would of necessity entail territorial occupation by the English; and by 1613, as will appear, this had become the predominant element in the scheme. But in 1609 Harcourt's own account of his proceedings shows that trading rather than planting was the aspect uppermost in his mind. Like other projectors he was to find by experience that to monopolize the trade of a large region with numerous natural harbours was a thing impossible. Even the Spanish monarchy could not do it in Trinidad, Spanish Guiana, and the eastern part of the Main, where the royal officials were present in scanty numbers and unbacked by adequate military force.

Harcourt was a man of only moderate wealth, and he was handicapped by private misfortunes. He was a Roman Catholic, subject to penalties for his nonconformity, and whilst he was yet absent on his voyage some fisher in troubled waters obtained from the government the benefits of his recusancy.[1] In other words, a court favourite secured for his own behoof the right to levy fines in the enforcement of laws ostensibly framed for safeguarding the state from treasonable practices, of which

[1] Grant to Robert Campbell, 8 November 1609. (*Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, art. 'Harcourt'.)

the unfortunate Harcourt was never under suspicion. A lawsuit over some landed property further sapped his resources, with the result that he was unable to maintain the supplies of men and goods and the regular service of shipping essential for reaping the harvest from the trading posts he had planted. John Smith tells us that the most Harcourt could do was to send out a few recruits as passengers in Dutch ships,[1] a statement which in itself indicates the destination of most of the profits.

With Michael Harcourt there remained in Guiana about thirty Englishmen.[2] What their employments were, the foregoing narrative enables us to guess. Of Michael his brother says: 'He performed his charge with great reputation, discovered many goodly Provinces, and spacious Countreyes; and worthily continued the possession full three yeeres compleate.' During that period only six of the colonists died, the others remaining in good health and satisfied with the country. These statements were written by Robert Harcourt towards the end of 1612, whilst penning the first edition of his *Relation*; and they leave us in doubt as to whether the pioneers returned home in that year, or whether they remained longer in Guiana. On the whole it seems probable that the majority returned, an inference backed by a document of 1617 which speaks of 'Capten Harvye who was three yeres with Harecourt in Guiana',[3] showing that Harvey at least came home in 1612. On the other hand, we have an official statement of July 1613 that Harcourt and his friends

[1] *True Travels*, 1907 ed., vol. ii, p. 186.

[2] Harcourt's figure, given in the *Relation*; Smith says 50 or 60, evidently counting the later arrivals.

[3] Journal of George, Lord Carew, S. P. Dom., James I, vol. xcv, No. 22, p. 55.

have inhabited Guiana for three or four years past, without any intimation that they have now ceased to do so.[1]

Whatever may have been done during these years, it is evident that the enterprise was on the point of expiring in 1613, and its promoters accordingly made an effort to revive it by attracting new blood and new capital. For this purpose Harcourt wrote and published the *Relation*, a circumstance which should be borne in mind whilst estimating the credibility of optimistic views expressed in it which we have no independent means of checking.[2] He also, in conjunction with two associates, agitated for letters patent conveying a proprietary grant of the greater part of the Guiana coast, and drew up a prospectus for the information of minor adventurers who might be induced to risk their persons or their capital in large or small amounts. On 15th July the Privy Council ordered the Solicitor-General to draw up a grant with privileges and limitations as in the patents for Virginia and Newfoundland, a general instruction capable of a very

[1] *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial Series*, vol. i, No. 3. A work first published about sixty years ago, Joaquim Caetano de Silva's *L'Oyapoc et l'Amazone* (3rd ed., Paris, 1899), gives an outline history of the early colonies in a somewhat dogmatic manner, but without references to authorities. On the present subject it says: 'Une seconde colonie anglaise, sous les ordres de Robert Harcourt, occupa également la rive gauche de l'Oyapoc, pendant trois ans et trois mois et demi, du 17 mai 1608 à la fin d'août 1611.' The first of these dates contains an error of a year, due to a misunderstanding of our calendar. I have been unable to discover any authority for the second, except perhaps the fact that Harcourt personally quitted the Wiapoco towards the end of August 1609.

[2] Internal evidence shows that the *Relation* in its published form was written in 1612–13, but that it was based on a journal kept by the author during the voyage of 1609.

extensive interpretation.[1] The patent passed the seals on 28th August 1613. To Robert Harcourt, Sir Thomas Challoner and John Rovenson, and to the heirs of Harcourt only, it accorded proprietary rights over all that part of South America lying between the Amazon and the Essequibo rivers, together with adjacent islands; total exemption from customs and other duties for a period of seven years; partial exemption for twenty-one years; and an obligation to pay to the Crown one-fifth of all gold and silver mined. The land was to be held in free and common socage of the Manor of East Greenwich.[2]

Armed with this patent, the associates proceeded to devise 'Articles for Adventurers'.[3] These were in some respects more liberal than the conditions found in some other schemes of the period. Every adventurer in purse or person was to rank as a planter; the meanest emigrant in person was to have 500 acres, and if he contributed so little as ten shillings he should have twenty acres in addition; the non-emigrating subscriber of a £12 10*s*. share was

[1] *A. P. C., Col. Ser.*, vol. i, No. 3. The most recent Virginian patent was that of 1612. The Newfoundland grant referred to was probably not that of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, but the one accorded to Guy's Company in 1610. Harcourt's own recapitulation (*Relation*, 1613 ed., p. 67, not reprinted in Purchas or in 1626), quoting almost verbatim the words of the patent, describes it as containing 'all Prerogatives, Jurisdictions, Royalties, Priviledges, Franchises, and Preheminences, both by Governement, Trade, Trafficke, and otherwise, in as large and ample manner, as either his Maiestie, or any of his noble Progenitors, or Predecessors, have heretofore graunted to any Adventurors, or Undertakers of any Discoveries, Plantations, or Trafficke, of, in, or into any forraigne parts whatsoever'.

[2] Patent Roll, 11 James I, part 9. See also S. P. Dom., James I, vol. cxli, p. 126; and *A. P. C., Col. Ser.*, vol. i, No. 34.

[3] *Relation*, 1613 ed., pp. 67–71. (Reprinted in *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. vi, but not in Purchas or in the *Relation* of 1626.)

also to be given 500 acres. Since, however, it would be impossible to allot unsurveyed territories, it was proposed to conduct the plantation at first as a joint-stock company, all planting and investment being for the common account. At the end of three years one-quarter of the profits realized were to be distributed, and from the fourth to the tenth year three-quarters, the balance being devoted to the improvement of the whole property. After ten years had expired and a survey had been completed the allotment of individual estates was to be carried out.[1]

An undertaking consisting of trading factories had, in 1609–12, been found wanting, at least in financial success to its promoters. A true plantation colony, like Virginia, was now to take its place. It would have been interesting to trace the evolution of a second Virginia on the banks of the Wiapoco. But the melancholy fact remains that from all these fair premises nothing followed. Surviving records yield no evidence that Harcourt and his friends sent out a single ship[2] or even succeeded in forming their company. They had undertaken, in fact, a task for which their position and resources were inadequate. All of them comparatively unknown men of the middle class, they had not the prestige to command the con-

[1] Compare this with the similar scheme adopted by the Virginia Company in 1609. In that case the share unit was also £12 10*s*. but the period of communal working was fixed at seven years. It was actually from this basis that Virginia developed into a community of freeholders.

[2] In January 1614 some Englishmen reached Bermuda with a Spanish prize. They stated that they were members of an expedition bound for the Amazon under 'one Fisher'. Apart from the name of Fisher there is nothing to connect this voyage with Harcourt's company, and its destination is against the supposition. (Hakluyt Soc., *Historye of the Bermudaes*, ed. Gen. Sir J. H. Lefroy, 1882, pp. 33–4.)

fidence of investors and to attract capital at a time when Virginia, the Bermudas, Newfoundland, and the East Indies trade were being vigorously developed under the auspices of men of the first rank in the city. The business men seem to have decided that the Virginia region must be the chosen area for English plantations; and neither at this nor at later dates do we find them showing much interest in Guiana enterprises, which always remained the speciality of the courtiers and country gentlemen. A significant indication of this tendency is the absence of Sir Thomas Smith's name from all the Guiana records, for he was associated with the governance of almost every other overseas project of the reign of James I, from the plantation of Virginia to the discovery of the North-West Passage and the exploitation of the eastern trade-routes: only Guiana does he seem to have left alone.

III

THE AMAZON AND THE ORINOCO
1610–19

(i) *The Voyages of Sir Thomas Roe, and his Amazon Plantation*

Authorities. Of the record of Sir Thomas Roe's proceedings in Guiana we have only fragments. The most considerable of these are a reference in Stow's *Annales* as continued by Edmund Howes in the edition of 1614; a long letter from Roe himself to the Earl of Salisbury written from Trinidad in February 1611; and a brief notice in John Smith's *True Travels*. In addition there are a few hints to be gleaned from various sources, which leave the impression that some important transactions remain buried in obscurity.

Roe was born probably in 1581 near Wanstead in Essex, and was consequently about twenty-nine years of age at the time of his first known voyage to Guiana. He was knighted by James I in 1605, and we find him in his first colonial venture in association with Ralegh and the Earl of Southampton. In 1609 he made preparations for an extensive exploration of the Guiana coast. For this purpose he and his own friends provided £1,100, Ralegh £600, Sir Stephen Powle £20, and Southampton £100 or some larger amount.[1]

[1] Tanner MSS., 168, f. 2 (Sir Stephen Powle's commonplace book). The entry runs: 'Guiana, 13° February 1609 [1610, N.S.] being Twesday S^r. Tho. Roe oure commander for the discouery of Guiana: and S^r. George Brooke (as I heare since) departed for Dartmouth where oure 2 shippes and prouision for 2 pinnesses were bestowed in them lay at roade for his comminge: parteners: The Earle of Sowthampton (?)00^li [the first figure blotted], S^r. Walter Rawley 600^li, Sr. Tho. Roe him sealfe with his parteners 1100^li: and my sealf 20^li: which viage god blesse: The 2 shippes departed from Dartmouth the 24 of Febru. 1609.'

On 24th February 1610 he sailed from Dartmouth with two ships, and reached the mouth of the Amazon two months later.[1] He penetrated two hundred miles up the river with the ships, and with boats a hundred miles farther. It is impossible to say where the explorer conceived the transition from sea to river to take place, but the 200-mile point would roughly coincide with the confluence of the Tapajos with the Amazon. The Tapajos, entering on the south side, was sometimes mistaken by the early voyagers for the main river, and it is possible that the hundred miles' boat journey followed its course, which was well known to the English in later years. Roe found the country attractive, but remarked that the natives were not to be trusted for food supplies 'by reason they provide no more then for necessity'. One of his prominent assistants in this discovery was Captain Matthew Morton, who had been with John Smith in Virginia, and afterwards commanded in East Indian voyages.[2] Howes' account continues: 'from thence he came along the coast into divers Rivers, and entred the Country by Indian Boates, and went over the Chatoracts and hills, passed over thirty two falls in the River of Wia Poco, from whence hee descended, having with great labour and perill spent 13 months in this discovery, viz. from the river of Amazones, to the river of Oronoque, at

[1] Stow's *Annales*, 1631 ed., p. 1022. The ensuing details of the voyage, unless otherwise stated, are drawn from this source, reprinted verbatim from the edition of 1614.

[2] Smith's *True Travels* (1907 ed.), vol. ii, pp. 185–6. This seems to be the only authority which mentions Morton, whose name is otherwise unknown in Guiana records. Smith, who evidently had independent information, also names William White as another of Roe's captains, but he is in error about the date of the voyage, which he places before 1609.

the end whereof, not finding all the West Indies to be full of Gold, as some suppose, hee returned by Trenydado, and the Westerne Islands, and arrived at the Wight, in July, one thousand six hundred and eleven.'

This leaves a good deal to be desired as a detailed relation, but it suggests broadly that discovery rather than trade or settlement was the main purpose, and hints that the gold of Manoa was the true objective of the voyage.[1] The perseverance with which Roe explored the Wiapoco accords with ideas expressed in other quarters

[1] Compare a report to the Council of the Indies, April 1615, from an agent at the Hague: 'A certain Englishman, before that Jan Pieterse made his settlement in the river of Wiapoco, in reconnoitring it made his way up the Wiapoco, accompanied by twenty savages and some canoes, over sixty-eight rapids or falls of the river, and from there forward he found a level and uniform country without any more rapids, and afterwards a very deep and broad river, and that they would have voyaged onwards by it, and by it arrived at the great city of Manoa, of which there is so great fame, but since the savages who live on the banks of that river had fled—whom the said savages call Norwacas—their cassava-root victuals and all other provisions failed them, the which compelled him with his company to return without passing further.' (*Documentos para a historia da Conquista e Colonisação do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, 1905, pp. 175–7.) This work gives the document in the original Spanish. Dr. George Edmundson, whose translation I have copied, is of opinion that the Englishman referred to was Harcourt. But a comparison of the details of this report with those in Howes' work leaves little doubt in my own mind that they both describe the same expedition—that of Sir Thomas Roe. Howes speaks of 32 falls in the Wiapoco; the Spanish agent of 68: if the latter was reckoning each obstacle twice—it would be passed twice on a double journey—this makes the two accounts nearly coincident. At the time of Roe's ascent of the Wiapoco, however, Harcourt's colonists must have been there, and they may have assisted him. See Dr. Edmundson's paper, 'The Dutch on the Amazon in the Seventeenth Century', Part i, in *English Historical Review*, vol. xviii, pp. 644–6.

that a gold-bearing region would be found at its head. He must also have acquired much information about the other rivers, since he spent a longer time on the coast than any previous explorer had done. He arrived at Trinidad in February 1611, and dispatched from that island a letter to Cecil which is noteworthy for its masterly tone and grasp of political conditions, and its no less masterly concealment of information which the writer chose to keep to himself. We feel as we read it that Roe was a fit man for the offices he was afterwards to hold, of ambassador to the Great Mogul, the Sublime Porte, and Gustavus Adolphus:

'Right Honorable

'If I should trouble your Lordship with a lardge relation of my poore discoveryes, they would be as paynfull to you, as they have beene to mee: I have left them now behind me, and I will doe so here too, least they offend your patience more, then they have benefitted mee.

'Your Honor shall fynd nothing new nor strange here, though it come from the newest and strangest land, for it beres no other fruict but my respect and service to your Lordship, for which interruption I must also aske perdon; when I shall come home I hope to give your Lordship account that I have not beene idle, and I will not become so, by strange reports of this place, when I shall answer for yt at your Lordships commandement. Yet I may with an humble bouldness presume to say I have seene more of this coast rivers and inland from the Great River of the Amazones under the line to Orenoque in 8 degrees, then any Englishman now alive, and of this I hope to give a reason: I am now past the Wild Coast and arrived at Port d'espagne in the Island of Trinidad, where are 15 sayle of ships freighting smoke [tobacco], English French Dutch: and of thes parts if your Honor will give me leave to relate the little newes and my opinion I will venture them both: The Spaniards here are equally proud,

insolent, yet needy and weake: theyr force is reputation, and theyr safety opinion: yet dare they use us whose hands are bound with any contumely and treachery: for me I will resist and prevent both these, and for that end doe rather stay with some English, then for any trade; I hope your Noble disposition will not take it ill that we defend our selves and the Honor of our Nation: I will not exceed your Honorable caution your Lordship gave me, nor stoope to so wretched an enemy (for so he is here) nor syncke under the injuryes I am able to repulse. I have had some question with them on land, but it is ended with quiett, concerning the Trade of our Contrymen, whom they used woorse then Moores.

'All seamen here bless your Lordship, and wish that the state would not be offended if they made them selves recompence, and have gotten a rumor, or made one, of Lettres of Mark, because Mr. Halls prise hath beene admitted: if the example were sure, we could second yt, but we dare not handle fyre, nor cannot take fast hould of ayre.

'All the Spanish newes here is of the kynges purpose to plant Orenoque and it is a matter of great consequence, for the River runs into the hart of the mayne and hath much wealth upon yt. The Justice of the kyng is dayly expected to come downe, and to be received at S^{nt}. Thomas the Plantation of Ferd: Bereo in Orenoque; who is received into the kyngs protection and hath received his grace. Theyr comes dayly from the mayne men cattell and horse which are to be employed in this woorke, in fortefying the place, raysing a new Cytty, and in pursuing the Conquest of Guiana, which hath long slept, and is now by new and more direct intelligence opened to him: but it will vanish, and be turned all to smoke, for the Governor is lazy, and unapt for labor, and hath more skill in planting Tobacco and selling yt, then in erecting Colonyes, or marching of armyes: But the river and Towne is infinite ritch and weake, and may easely be taken away, and as easely held: There is in these parts a Spaniard proscribed, for well treating some English fallen into his power; his name is Don Juan de Gambo:

he, with divers Spaniards his followers, are fled into the mayne as open enemyes to the kyngs proceedings: I have gotten knowledge by Indyans where he is, and have sent my shallop to seeke him, if I can, to speake with him; I know if I my selfe may confer with him, which I will adventure for, he may offer good service to your Lordship, for he is a great souldier for thes parts, and knowes all the secretts, passages, strengths, advantages and weakenesses of this land, and all the mayne to the bottom of the bay [? the Gulf of Darien]: and I am sure he knows of mynes undiscovered to the kyngs officers, and unable for him and his company to overcome. If he fayle me, yet I hope it will not be ill received of me, if I bring one with me home that may doe almost as much, if there be use of him; he is borne a Venetian, but bred in the New Kyngdome of Granada, a priest here, but a souldier there, one that pretends change in his conscience, I cannot see his hart, but I know his professions, and abilityes here: I will present him to your Lordship, if he be not prevented, for he is also one that must runne away when I give the word.

'I am now sorry for this presumption but your Lordship gives leave to all, and I account my selfe tyed by many favors to your particular service: if I may presume to add one more at my humble sute, that your Honor will favor me in my last and first request, in advancing my desire to serve the Prince. Though your Lordships knowledge of me had but late beginning and meaner deservings yet you shall ever fynd that your Lordship shall command the life of

'Your Honors unworthy servant

'Tho: Roe

'Feb. 28th: Port d'espaigne in the Island of Trinedad: 1610

'To the right Hon: the Earle of Salisbury Lord High Treasurer of England'[1]

[1] Record Office, C. O. 1/1, No. 25. Summarized in *Colonial Calendar, 1574–1660*, p. 11. So far as I am able to trace, this letter has not previously been printed in full.

Roe in this letter suppresses with a skilful gesture all news concerning the true purpose of his voyage, the discovery of valuable information about Guiana. Perhaps he thought it unsafe to commit such matters to a letter which might go astray. Perhaps also he may have reasoned that the results of an expedition which had cost nearly £2,000 to equip should not be disclosed to any but his own partners; and we do not know that Cecil was one of these. Whatever may have been his reason, he told nothing material; his journal of the voyage, which no doubt he kept, has not come to light; and consequently it is only by inference that we can obtain some idea of his proceedings. In this manner it may be deduced that he considered the Amazon to offer the best field for English enterprise, more especially as his thorough investigation of the Wiapoco and other rivers must have rendered more remote the hope of penetrating to Manoa through the Guiana coastline. Nevertheless his close contact with the Spaniards of Trinidad must have enabled him to acquire information of great interest to Ralegh for its bearing on the project the latter had nearest to heart.

After returning to England in the summer of 1611, Roe dispatched two more expeditions to Guiana, although it does not appear that he accompanied them in person. Our chief evidence on this point is from Howes, who says: '. . . since which time [1611] hee hath twice sent thither to make farther discoveries, and maintained 20 men in the River of Amazones, for the good of his Countrey, who are yet remaining there, and supplied.' This statement was written for the 1614 edition, and appears unchanged in that of 1631.[1] In this connexion Roe's own movements

[1] See also *Conquista . . . do Brasil*, p. 176, already referred to, where a paper in the Archivo General de Indias, 1615, 24 May,

are of interest. In July 1613 he was at Spa, and at Flushing at the close of the year. He sat as member for Tamworth in the Parliament of 1614, and in March 1615 he sailed for India on his famous embassy to the Great Mogul at Agra. The mission occupied more than four years, and involved the termination of his own management of the Guiana enterprise. The twenty colonists in the Amazon were most probably planted there by himself in the year 1610, although possibly they went out in 1611–13.

At that date the Portuguese of Brazil had no permanent posts in the Amazon delta. It was not until 1615 that they founded Pará on its most easterly branch, and they were moved to do so by reports of English and Dutch adventurers penetrating the great river. Of Roe's party we have definite news two years later. Whilst Roe was in India his friend Lord Carew sent him news of current events, and under date March-April 1617 he wrote:

> 'Some foure or fyve of your men, lefte in the River of Amazons, are richelye retourned in a Holland shippe. The rest of your men remayne there; those which are come home are ryche, and (as I heare) they meane to retourne. Itt is sayed, that these five brought with them so muche Tobacco, as they have sold it in the Low Countries, where the first arrived, and in England, for 2300^{li}, and allso itt is reported that they brought home ingotts of gold, but to what valew I know nott.' [1]

corroborates Howes' statement: 'Assimismo que un Tomas Rey tiene puesto un notable fuerte en la embocadura del rio de las Amazonas, de donde haçe grandes y provechosas resaques de manera que quando el Trato y comercio se fueren llevando por allí con alguna buen orden, el provecho que del a de lucir a de ser andando el tiempo de mayor provecho que del el de las Indias orientales'. The mention of 'the mouth of the Amazon' gives us the only clue to the locality of Roe's plantation.

[1] S. P. Dom., James I, vol. xcv, No. 22, p. 15. Scott's 'History of the River Amazon' (Rawlinson MSS., A 175, f. 355) also speaks

There is no further record of Roe's plantation as a separate venture, and we must regard it as merging with the other enterprises next to be considered. A vague story in the Spanish archives describes a settlement of Irishmen as planted in the Amazon in 1622 by an English corsair designated 'Don Thomas Rodriguez', which has been conjectured to be a rendering of Roe's name. But there is no good ground for the identification, and the matter will be more fully discussed in its proper place.[1]

(ii) *Some Obscure Enterprises*, 1611–19

Authorities. There is no main authority for this section: it is constructed from scattered hints whose origins are indicated in the footnotes.

In addition to the proceedings of Roe and Ralegh, and later of Roger North and the Amazon and Guiana Companies promoted by him, of which the English archives yield clear information, there are numerous traces to be found of English adventurers on the coast of Guiana proper from 1611 to 1617, and of English and Irish on the Amazon from 1612 to 1633. It is with these obscure enterprises to the year 1619, the date of the formation of the Amazon Company, that the present section proposes to deal. The evidence is fragmentary and puzzling, much of it from non-English sources and consequently very deficient in indicating the names of the leaders. Even their nationality is not always apparent, for Spanish

of tobacco as a chief product of the Amazon plantations at this period, and declares that it was sold for 'at least twenty shillings per pound', which sounds like an exaggeration. But it must be remembered that Virginian tobacco-planting was then in its infancy, the first experimental cargo being shipped from that colony in 1613. When the Virginia trade became established, prices dropped heavily.

[1] See below, p. 96.

officials often did not trouble to distinguish between Englishmen and Dutchmen, whom they classified alike as 'enemigos'. The confusion is increased by the fact that some of the enterprises were not separated on the lines of nationality. The Dutch towns of Brill, Flushing, and Rammekens were held by English garrisons remaining there since the days of the Elizabethan wars;[1] they contained also many English civilian residents; and the Dutch army and marine were crowded with English adventurers. Men of French extraction were also numerous in the Netherlands, often maintaining close relations with their connexions in France. Hence these little private factories and plantations have often a very cosmopolitan aspect, and it is not always possible to separate from the rest the doings of our own countrymen. It will nevertheless be apparent that there were some English and Irish settlements distinguishable as such. The picture as a whole represents a microcosm of the great movement of colonial history in the seventeenth century—the push of the three new colonizing powers, England, France, and Holland, to crowd out and supplant the two original ones, Spain and Portugal.

The island of Trinidad, covering the delta of the Orinoco, was a centre of strife for half a century after Ralegh's voyage of 1595. It was the point of contact between the established Spanish dominion on the Main and the disorderly western sector of the Wild Coast over which Spain was never able to assert her supremacy. It was also in the track of the Carib rovers between the unsubdued Orinoco and the island chain of the lesser

[1] The towns were surrendered to the United Provinces in 1616, on payment of part of the debt owed by the Provinces to England (S. R. Gardiner, *Hist. of England*, vol. ii, p. 383).

Antilles. Spanish administrators realized the importance of a firm grasp upon Trinidad and Spanish Guiana, but they were never able to concentrate sufficient force upon the task, and the combined governorship long remained in an unsatisfactory condition.[1] English and Dutch free-lances haunted the coasts, sometimes with the connivance of the officials, only occasionally driven off by a sporadic outburst of energy.

As early as 1605 the Spaniards determined upon a more intensive colonization of Trinidad, and it is significant that for this purpose they had to purchase about five hundred negroes from the hated Dutch, the Indian tribes being all in a refractory condition and their labour unavailable.[2] Again in 1610–11 we find Roe speaking of a great project to subdue the Orinoco, and expressing the opinion that it will all end in smoke owing to the sloth and incompetence of the governor, Fernando de Berreo, the son of Ralegh's captive of 1595. Berreo, in fact, was charged by his own countrymen with something more than laziness. Letters from the ambassador in England to the Duke of Lerma in 1611 asserted that ships were arriving in England and Holland laden with Trinidad tobacco, that the value of the smallest lading was 500,000 ducats, and that the Londoners were then preparing four vessels for the same lucrative enterprise. The writer accused Berreo of countenancing this trade, and suggested that he should be brought to trial.[3] Roe's letter to Salisbury from Trinidad affords corroboration with its account

[1] For a discussion of this subject see Jimenez de la Espada, *Viaje del Capitán Pedro Texeira*, Madrid, 1889, pp. 101–7.

[2] Sloane MSS., 3662, f. 45 (Scott). A Dutchman named Isaac Duverne delivered the negroes in 1606.

[3] Add MSS., 36319, f. 277 (Transcript from Archivo General de Indias, 1611, 13 May).

of fifteen sail of English, French, and Dutch 'freighting smoke' at Port of Spain. Another document of the same year, a record of the examination at Santo Domingo of Captain Thomas Currey, an English prisoner, indicates that the English and Dutch were carrying on an established tobacco trade in the Orinoco itself, although it gives no clear proof that settlements had been formed.[1] In 1613, however, a series of official letters complains that the English were actively planting in the coasts of San Thomé de Guiana (Orinoco), where they were cultivating tobacco in alliance with the Indians.[2] Orders were given that the intruders should be driven out, and we may presume that this was eventually done from the subsequent silence of the records on the matter. Certain English interests were hostile to the importation of so-called Spanish tobacco on any extensive scale: James I, with his matrimonial projects, was unwilling to countenance trespass on what he admitted to be Spanish territory; and when, after 1613, the Virginia tobacco trade became important, there was a cry for prohibitive duties on the produce of competing regions. These factors combined to loosen the hold of the English on western Guiana, which became increasingly a Dutch sphere of influence. Ralegh's expedition of 1617 is thus seen to be in some ways an exception to the general trend of the times.

A brief summary of Dutch progress in western Guiana may be inserted here. In 1614 Theodore Claessen of Amsterdam was reported to be establishing colonies in the Wiapoco and Cayenne rivers.[3] The Wiapoco enterprise,

[1] Add. MSS., 36319, f. 294 seqq, also ff. 254–77. In Currey's ship documents compromising Berreo were found.

[2] British *Blue Book: Venezuela*, No. 3 (1896), App. iii, pp. 203–4, 210.

[3] Add. MSS., 36320, f. 190.

like most others in that river, was evanescent, but in 1615 there is confirmation of the presence of the Dutch at Cayenne, which however they seem to have abandoned at the close of the year.[1] The French had also attempted it unsuccessfully in 1613. Farther west the Dutch obtained a stronger hold. In 1616 Captain Groenewegen entered the Essequibo and built at the confluence of its two main branches a fort which became a permanent settlement.[2] Eight years later another permanent Dutch factory was planted in the Berbice, and thenceforward we hear little of English enterprises west of the Wiapoco for some twenty years. The French, unlike their Dutch and English contemporaries, seem to have been uniformly unfortunate in their dealings with the natives, and their attempts to plant settlements usually ended in massacre after a very brief duration.

Captain Edward Harvey, it will be remembered, had gone with Harcourt to the Wiapoco in 1609, and had remained there for three years. In 1614 he was back in Europe, and a project was on foot for him to command a strong Anglo-Dutch squadron on an enterprise directed to a new quarter. A Spanish letter of intelligence of 4th July 1614, says:

> 'Also I have heard that a Dutch company is arming five or six ships, to be commanded by Captain Harvey, an Englishman, who is serving the Dutch and has armed the ships in different ports of this kingdom [England] and of Holland, for greater secrecy. One of the captains who is to go on the voyage, and is

[1] Sloane MSS., 3662, ff. 39 b–40; *Blue Book*, ut sup., p. 206.

[2] Sloane MSS., 3662, f. 40. Groenewegen's achievement has been disputed, but its reality has been established beyond reasonable doubt by Dr. Edmundson in his paper on 'The Dutch in Western Guiana', *Eng. Hist. Review*, vol. xvi.

discontented, has notified me of this and that their motive is to plunder in the West Indies and to see if they can get a foothold and make some conquest in Nicaragua; of which I have thought fit to advise your Majesty.'[1]

Whether this expedition was really designed for Nicaragua, whether it sailed, and what success it had, we do not know. Harvey was again in England in 1617, in which year he took out yet another colony to the Wiapoco. Lord Carew's journal, written for Sir Thomas Roe in India, states under date December 1617:

'Capten Harvye who was three yeres with Harecourt in Guiana, is gone agayne to trye a fortune there: the River of Weyapoco, nott (as you know) above two degrees from the Lyne, is the first harboroughe that he meanes to fall withall: he is victualled for eleven monethes, shipt in a bottome of 200 tunnes, and 70 men: his shippe he meanes to retourne as speedilie as he may, and with the rest of his men to stay there.'[2]

Here again we arrive at a dead end: the records tell us nothing further of Harvey's colony. The next visitors to the Wiapoco of whom we have information were a Franco-Dutch party in 1623; and they found residing there a solitary Englishman with three negro slaves.[3]

[1] Add. MSS., 36320, f. 143.

[2] S. P. Dom., James I, vol. xcv, No. 22, p. 55.

[3] Sloane MSS., 179 B, f. 8: 'Le lundy dixhuytiesme [18 Dec. 1623] nous fusmes dans la riviere de Wanari auecq nostre cheloupe voir Henry Fonston anglois qui habitoit la auecq trois negres.' An accompanying map shows the Wanari to be the affluent of the Wiapoco which Charles Leigh had christened the Jotramleigh, and of which he gave 'Wanarie' as the Indian name. I have been unable to trace any other reference to Henry Fonston, an uncommon name which may be corruptly rendered by the French narrator. He may have been a survivor of Harvey's party. The map shows fourteen native villages or plantations on the Wiapoco, one with the Dutch appellation of 'Broure huys'. There is reason to believe that traders frequently visited the river, so that

The remainder of the enterprises to be treated in this section are located in the Amazon. We have already stated what is known of Roe's plantation in the mouth of that river: there were in addition some other ventures upon which the English state papers are almost completely silent, but which nevertheless paved the way for important transactions at a later date.

The Dutch seem to have been the earliest pioneers in the Amazon—as settlers, that is to say, and not merely as explorers. According to their contemporary historian, Jan de Laet, they had two factories on the Xingú, at the head of the main estuary, before the close of the sixteenth century. Then in 1612 the French determined to exploit the Brazilian coast. Their expedition sailed from Cancale in January of that year, and built a fort named St. Louis on the island of Maranham or Maranhão some three hundred miles east of the Amazon.[1] The Portuguese of Pernambuco now awoke to the peril of losing northern Brazil and the great waterway, concerning which they had hitherto been very incurious and apathetic. Jeronymo de Albuquerque led an expedition which expelled the French from Maranhão after hard fighting in 1614–15. Francisco Caldeira was then entrusted with the task of exploring the Amazon estuary and taking measures to

it is quite possible that an unattached Englishman might have been living profitably there if he was on good terms with the natives.

[1] A detailed account in English of this French colony occurs in Robert Southey's *History of Brazil* (1810), vol. i, pp. 394–427. Southey based his narrative chiefly on Bernardo Pereira de Berredo's *Annaes Historicos do Estado do Maranhão*, Lisbon, 1749. Berredo, whom we shall have occasion to quote in later chapters, seems to be in the main trustworthy, although his chronology is occasionally corrected by documents which have since become available.

keep out intruders. To this end he founded at the close of 1615 the settlement which has since become the city of Pará. He placed it, however, not on the outfall of the Amazon proper, but on that of the Tocantins, which communicates by subsidiary channels with the greater river. Pará served therefore rather as a base of operations against foreign settlers than as a direct means of preventing their ingress into the Amazon.

Caldeira heard that the Dutch were established at two wooden forts containing 250–300 men and machinery for sugar-making. Indians who came to his camp also told him that 150 leagues up the river from Pará there were twenty-five canoe loads of Europeans constructing a fortification and having women with them.[1] It is with this latter party that we are concerned, for if, as seems probable, the account now to be quoted refers to it, its members included some Englishmen. Colonel Scott, the Restoration writer, has left us a manuscript 'History and Description of the River of Amazones', which he compiled from contemporary authors still available to us and also from a quantity of maps, charts, and journals purchased by him from Mathias Matteson, a Fleming who had been

[1] *Relação do que ha no grande rio das Amazonas novamente descuberto—Año de 1616*, a narrative of Caldeira's expedition written by Andres Pereira, a member of it, printed in *Documentos para a historia da Conquista e Colonisação do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, 1905, pp. 99–103. A version of this, differing in a few details, is printed from the original in Spain in Espada's *Viaje del Capitán Pedro Texeira*, Madrid, 1889, pp. 115–19. Edmundson (*Eng. Hist. Rev.*, vol. xviii, p. 649) identifies the two Dutch forts with Forts Orange and Nassau on the Xingú, mentioned by de Laet. The Portuguese phrase is '. . . tivemos certa relazão dos enemigos Olandeses e Framengos que estão no Cabo do Norte de que tinhamos muita noticia, e como estarião 250 homẽs ate 300 repartidos em duas fortalezas' &c., with no further clue to locality.

long in the Portuguese service on the Amazon and other rivers. Scott had also a talent for extracting sound information from the talk of veterans with whom he came in contact in the course of his wandering career. Of the Amazon settlement he says: [1]

'In the yeare 1616 one peeter Adriansen in the Golden Cock of Vlusing sayled for the Amazones and haveing been as high as the entrance of the strait [near the Tapajos confluence], they feard they might be in a wrong Chanel, returnd back again, and between the River Coropatube the River Ginipape on a peninsula by a little river on one side, and an Arme of the Amazones on the other side they built a fort; many of these people were English, that then inhabited in Vlusing and at Ramakins, Towns then in the hands of the English; they were one hundred and thirtie men, and fourteen of them carryed their famelies to plant with them; they had bread, pease, beefe, porke, bakon, otmeal, vinegar, and twentie Hogsheads of Brandy, a store for one whole yeare, besides their ship provisions; they had a fair corispondance with a nation of Indians thier Nieghbours, called Supanes; the ship haveing stayed thier four months, till thier ffort was finished, and some Huts built, without as well as within the ffort, the Indians assisted them in planting Tobacco, and Annotta, a red Dye, a bastard scarlet. Things in this Condition, the ship leaves them sayling for Zeeland but returns the yeare ffollowing, with recruits of all things necessary, but bread and meat was not at all now wanting; they loaded the ship with Tobacco, Anotta, and speckle-wood; the loading was sold for sixtie thousand pounds sterling mony. These were the two ffirst voyages of the Admiral de Ruyter, the first in the tenth, and the second in the twelfth yeare of his Age, A. D. 1618. as I have had it from his own mouth, as also that the losse of that Hopeful Colony was thier engageing themselves in the Quarels of the Indians, assisting the Supanes against another nation caled the Percotes, who were in Aliance with the portogueze; soe that though they could not

[1] Rawlinson MSS., A 175, ff. 355 seqq.

make themselves masters of thier ffort and plantation (the Supanes thier Nieghbours in great Bodies assisting them) yet several of the English and Dutch being kild and wounded, two ships comeing in the yeare 1623 they all imbarked with what they had, back for Zeeland, bringing with them very considerable Riches, having by Trade with the Indians acquier'd great store of Amber Greace and other things of value, besides thier Tobacco which was also at a high price, at least twentie shillings per pound, and thier Anotta at twelve shillings per pound. Thus ended this hopeful Colonie, who parted with thier nieghbours the Supane Indians, with great troble; have[ing] in six years togeather lived in perfect friendship; and had alalong from thier first landing injoyed thier health.

'This ship is no sooner arived at Vlushing, but nine of the English, with thier effects, take shipping for London, where by thier report and the demonstration they brought with them of the grouth trade and produce of the Country of the Amazones, and how few they had buryed in six years, put divers people upon the wing from London: and a ship was provided of two hundred tuns, and in her ninetie six men, and fortie women, and children, but they were never heard of, so that its supposed they founder'd in the sea.'

Elsewhere in the same manuscript Scott describes the settlement as being on the north bank of the Amazon, fifty-four leagues below the confluence of the Coropatube (now called the Maycuru), and six leagues above that of the Ginipape (now the Parú), where also there was an English plantation in 1622.

Scott's character and the incidents of his career have been shown to be entirely discreditable.[1] Nevertheless, this condemnation must not lightly be extended to cover his work as a historian. His circumstantial narratives allow of two interpretations: either he possessed a critical

[1] See Prof. W. C. Abbott's '*Colonel' John Scott of Long Island*, 1918, a graphic revelation of his rascalities.

mind and an extraordinary memory, exercising these faculties in the cause of historical truth; or he had the fertile imagination and the wide reading of a Defoe, and deliberately used them to concoct false history. The latter hypothesis is refuted by corroborations of his statements which appear from sources that he himself could not have used. To take the account quoted above, confirmations of details are found in a Portuguese document buried in the Spanish archives until the nineteenth century,[1] and in a French manuscript not brought to England until after Scott's time, the latter authority confirming the story that Pieter Adriaansz really had a plantation on the Amazon at the date in question.[2] For a highly detailed narrative it possesses a self-consistency which is hardly compatible with romancing, and especially notable when contrasted with the looseness of the English style. Some of Scott's dates have proved to be incorrect, but this is no proof of substantial inaccuracy in the case of one who drew much of his material from statements made by word of mouth. The just conclusion would seem to be that his writings are a real authority on the events they describe, and fill a gap in the record caused by the disappearance of original documents with which he was familiar, and the absence of the written memoirs of pioneers from whom he received oral narratives.

Putting together the information given by Scott and that from the Portuguese account already referred to,[3] we

[1] Quoted in footnote 3 below.

[2] Sloane MSS., 179 B, f. 7. Dr. G. Edmundson, in *Eng. Hist. Review*, vol. xvi, vindicates Scott's accuracy concerning the Dutch colonies in Western Guiana.

[3] *Relação . . . de 1616*, in *Documentos . . . Brasil*, ut sup., pp. 99–103. The relevant extract is as follows: 'Soubemos mais de algũs gentios que de muito longe pello rio asima vinhão a ver

find that a strong Anglo-Dutch expedition sailed from Flushing in 1616, fully equipped and provisioned for a year, penetrated far into the Amazon, probably to the Tapajos confluence, then returned downstream, and fortified itself on a peninsula on the northern bank six leagues above the Ginipape or Parú, and 150 Portuguese leagues from Pará.[1] The colonists numbered 130 men and fourteen women, and succeeded in firmly settling themselves with the goodwill of the natives, carrying on a lucrative trade in tobacco and dyestuffs and the hard woods which were in demand for making expensive household furniture. The end of this colony, about six years later, came during a period of general disaster caused by Portuguese aggression, and will be dealt with in a later section.

One or more additional settlements also existed on the Amazon before 1620, whose locality and origin cannot be identified. Manoel de Sousa de Sáa, afterwards governor of Pará, wrote in 1614–15 a guide for the pioneers who were to explore the region for Portugal.[2] After giving

os Portuguezes e ser seus amigos como a o pé de huas serras que estarão de nosa fortaleza [Pará] 150 leguoas estavão 25 vellas com muita gente fortificandose, tendo molheres consigo como ya vinhão a su efeito. Estas serras diz o gentio que som escalvadas sem mato, e algũs homẽs experimentados dizem que estas são as serras que alli vem dar do Perú, como muitas cartas de marear tambem o mostrão, e que a ouro nellas, é mais metais.' Note especially the mention of the women as corroborating Scott. The mountains would appear to be the Serra de Almeirim or the Serra Jutahy, probably the latter.

[1] The distance from Pará to the Ginipape in a straight line is about 275 miles, but the course by the rivers would be much longer.

[2] *Documentos . . . Brasil*, pp. 119–21, a document taken from the Archivo General de Indias. A copy of it was at Madrid by 7 July 1615.

directions for entering the Amazon estuary, he continues: 'The foreigners who go there load tobacco, grain or maize, rare woods, much earth [mucha tierra] in casks. This information has been given by the crew of a caravel that the English brought into the said river laden with sugars, having captured it.' The English shown to be thus early trading and privateering in the Amazon may have been Roe's men.

John Smith, who was acquainted with Captain Roger North and the promoters of the Amazon and Guiana Companies of 1620 and 1627, says that when North went to the Amazon in the former year he found English and Irish settlers who had been eight years in the country, also that North had his attention originally directed to the region by the reports of certain Englishmen returning thence very rich.[1] That these colonists were identical with Adriaansz's Anglo-Dutch party is rendered unlikely by the fact that North 'reduced them to his company', or in other words took control of them by virtue of his patent. He can hardly have treated the Flushing enterprise in this way, for the Dutch would certainly have resented it, a circumstance of which we have no record. On the contrary, there is traceable in these Guiana enterprises a very pleasing harmony and co-operation between the two nations, quite at variance with the contemporary state of their affairs in the far East. We may justly assume that the existent plantations taken over by North in 1620 represented a purely insular undertaking. A shadowy hint of these Irish pioneers occurs again in the Privy Council transactions of 1621, from which it appears that North had brought home some tobacco on their account.[2] Finally, a paper written by a

[1] *True Travels* (1907 ed.), vol. ii, pp. 186–7.
[2] *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial Ser.*, vol. i, Nos. 68, 69.

merchant named Yueling or Eveling about 1624 describes how, about four years previously, he had sent out Thomas Fanning, a servant of his, to prospect in the Amazon, after having heard of the rich business done there by 'some volenteers of our Countrye' in certain factories 'whoe some of them had returned above fourtye thousand powndes in one year uppon lesse then three hundred powndes Cargasone'.[1] Evidently these forgotten settlements enjoyed palmy days before the Portuguese bestirred themselves to root them out.

One more reference to Guiana at this period deserves mention, as showing the interest aroused in the country in Anglo-Dutch circles. When the Pilgrim Fathers at Leyden determined to cross the Atlantic, some influential members of their church were in favour of colonizing Guiana. They argued that the country was rich and fruitful, the climate healthy, and that colonists would quickly prosper there. 'But to this it was answered, that out of question, the countrie was both frutfull, and pleasante; and might yield riches, and maintenance to the possessors, more easily then the other; yet, other things considered, it would not be so fitt for them.'[2] The chief unfavourable consideration, it appears, was fear of Spanish hostility. The Pilgrims were ready to war with Nature if only they might be at peace with man.

[1] C. O. 1/5, No. 45. The paper is undated, but internal evidence places it approximately in 1623–4. The writer is probably the George Eveling whose name occurs in a list of members of the Guiana Company in 1629 (Tanner MSS., 71, f. 161).

[2] William Bradford, *History of Plymouth Plantation*, ed. Mass. Hist. Soc., 1912, vol. i, pp. 61–4.

(iii) *Ralegh's Last Voyage*, 1617–18

Authorities. The story of Ralegh's last expedition to Guiana has been written again and again by his biographers, who, between them, have sought to elucidate the puzzling political and diplomatic intrigues which surrounded the enterprise. Much of this tangled web remains unsolved, yet the proceedings of Ralegh and his captains in Guiana itself constitute a simple narrative whose main features are established and upon which no important differences of opinion have arisen. It will therefore be sufficient for the purpose of this investigation to draw upon these secondary sources in order to bring Ralegh's adventure into the perspective of the less known undertakings which preceded and followed it. Useful lives of Ralegh are those by E. Edwards, London, 1868; W. Stebbing, Oxford, 2nd ed., 1899; M. A. S. Hume, London, 1897; and Sir J. K. Laughton in the *Dictionary of National Biography*; also, as an antidote to excess of Ralegh-worship, the level-headed account in S. R. Gardiner's *History of England*, vol. iii.

A brief statement of the facts will usefully precede a discussion of motives and results. Ralegh, after lying in the Tower under sentence of death since 1604, was released but not pardoned in March 1616. He put in hand immediately the building of the *Destiny*, a warship of 450 tons, and the collection of funds and a company of fellow-adventurers for the exploitation of the gold-mine five miles from the bank of the Orinoco, which an Indian had shown to Keymis (but not to Ralegh) in 1595. The Spanish ambassador, Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, better known as Count Gondomar, protested that this would involve a trespass upon Spanish territory. Ralegh, whilst admitting the existence of the Spanish settlement of San Thome de Guiana, at the junction of the Orinoco and the Caroni, asserted that there would be no trespass and that his mine was accessible through country the Spaniards had not occupied. Gondomar obtained from James I all

the information furnished to the latter by Ralegh, and sent ample warning to San Thome of what was intended.

Ralegh sailed from Plymouth on 12th June 1617, with a fleet of fourteen ships with 900–1,000 men, equipped at a total cost of nearly £30,000, of which he himself contributed one-third. Bad weather delayed the expedition, which did not clear from the Irish coast until 19th August. After watering at the Canaries, Ralegh made a landfall at the Wiapoco on 11th November, with a squadron reduced by desertion to ten sail, and companies debilitated by sickness. Passing along the coast to Cayenne and then to the Triangle Islands, he divided his force into two parts, the one under his own command to lie at Trinidad and guard the Orinoco mouths against Spaniards from the Main, the other of 400 men in the five lighter ships under Lawrence Keymis to ascend the river and find the mine. With Keymis went Ralegh's son Walter and nephew George.

The river party were fired on from the banks by Spaniards who were warned of their approach. On 1st January 1618 they came upon the town of San Thome in an unexpected position, before reaching the supposed site of the mine. The San Thome of 1618 was in fact a new place some thirty miles downstream from the older settlement of that name. The exact date of its transference is not established. It seems to have been on the old site in 1611, when a certain Captain Moate reported to Ralegh that he had been there.[1] Ralegh implied that the position of the new town was a surprise to him; but Sir Thomas Roe, to whose expenses he had contributed in 1610–11, distinctly stated in the letter printed earlier in

[1] Harl. MSS., 39, ff. 350–1, printed in Edwards' *Life*, vol. ii, p. 337.

this chapter that a new city was in contemplation in the latter year, a fact which seems to have escaped the biographers. However that may have been, and broadly viewed the question is immaterial, Keymis was confronted by the certainty that access to the mine was impossible without trespass and collision with the Spaniards, and that the whole assumption on which the expedition had been permitted was false. He and the other officers decided to land. They were ambushed by the Spaniards after doing so, drove them back on San Thome, and carried the place with a rush, the younger Walter Ralegh falling in the action.

The impossibility of the undertaking was now apparent. The San Thome Spaniards lurked in the neighbourhood and prevented any small parties of explorers and foragers from leaving the town. Keymis did not know positively where the mine was. He supposed it to be eight miles away, and made one attempt to reach it, but was driven back. George Ralegh also made a fruitless boat expedition up the river. After close on four weeks' occupation, and a total loss of 250 men, Keymis was forced to abandon San Thome and return to the coast. He rejoined Ralegh at Trinidad on 2nd March 1618, and killed himself in his cabin through grief at the failure.

Here, so far as Guiana is concerned, the story ends: there is no need to follow the well-worn trail of the dissensions in the fleet, the intrigues against Ralegh, the return of the broken expedition to England, and the execution of its commander.

Some questions, however, need remark. The first of these relates to the attitude of James I. With regard to Spain, and whether he should be friendly or hostile towards her, he seems to have been undecided. He

pursued one policy on one day and its opposite on the next. His motives are undiscoverable. Sir J. R. Seeley describes his vacillations without accounting for them.[1] On the more limited matter of claims to colonial territory James did take up an intelligible position. He was prepared, on paper at least, to respect Spanish territory effectively occupied, but not to respect any claims to pre-emption of unexploited lands based upon prior discovery, or upon the bulls of Alexander VI. In this he was in theory consistent, and it is difficult to find in the whole colonial history of his reign a single exception. So he had already recognized Leigh and Harcourt in Guiana, and the Virginia and East India Companies, trespassers one and all upon Spanish and Portuguese property according to the pre-Elizabethan interpretation of those powers' claims. So he was a year or two later to recognize the Amazon Company, and to withdraw his recognition as soon as Gondomar came forward with proofs, flimsy indeed, of Portuguese occupation of that river. And so now, technically adhering to his principle, he recognized Ralegh so long as the latter undertook not to trespass, and repudiated him directly the trespass was accomplished. It may be admitted that James was not honest, since there is no doubt he could have discovered in advance, had he chosen, that the mine could not be reached without trespass. But if James was dishonest, so also was Ralegh: the former accepted a lie, and the latter told it, and the weaker party became the scapegoat of the inevitable exposure. Nevertheless, out of all this tortuous morality there does emerge a fact which has not been generally recognized, that James acted on a principle in his colonial policy, and held to it more firmly than he

[1] *Growth of British Policy*, vol. i, pp. 286–91.

held to principles in any other department of his kingcraft.

Another question of interest is that of the gold-mine. Ralegh's apologists have been prone to argue that because gold has since been worked in Guiana and Venezuela, their hero was justified in his assertion that it was only necessary to go to a particular spot to collect with primitive appliances an enormous amount of wealth. But in this reasoning there lurks a fallacy. The fact that some gold is scattered over a vast area is no proof that a very great amount of gold existed at one point. That was the implication of Ralegh's statements, and had it been true we should have heard of it in categorical form ere now. Did Ralegh in cool blood believe in this mine? He had never seen it himself, and had only the word of Keymis for its existence. Keymis was not a mining engineer, and he had only paused for a hasty glance and taken a casual sample. Those who hold that Ralegh believed in the extraordinary wealth of the deposit have yet to explain why he made no effort to exploit it during the years 1598–1603, a period when he was principally occupied with court and political business, from which he could certainly have freed himself for the necessary few months. Instead of this, we find that the mine becomes an obsession with him only after his imprisonment has begun. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that he regarded it mainly as a bribe wherewith to tempt the wisest fool in Christendom to unlock the gates of the Tower.[1]

Ralegh in fact was an Elizabethan, a man of the

[1] Lionello, the Venetian Secretary in London, wrote to his government on 14 April 1617: 'I know quite well that his sole purpose in choosing this undertaking was to escape from perpetual imprisonment, and that he would willingly exchange it for something else.' *Cal. of State Papers, Venice &c.*, vol. xiv, p. 489.

Spanish war. He remembered how Drake had forced Elizabeth's hand on more than one occasion, and he hoped to force her successor into a reopening of the contest in which alone fame and position could be retrieved. The size of his armament precludes the belief that he considered himself bent upon a peaceful errand. Peaceful prospecting for gold in an unoccupied country did not need an equipment costing £30,000. Only once before had an English squadron of this size crossed the Atlantic in time of peace —when Martin Frobisher had taken fifteen sail to collect gold-ore in the North-West in 1578. The disastrous outcome of that adventure, still remembered by living men, was a sufficient warning against such a speculation. Ralegh's voyage, then, stands alone amongst the Guiana enterprises of the seventeenth century. Its object was not colonization or trade or even the discovery of Manoa, but simply to stir up war with Spain. As such, it failed.

IV

THE AMAZON, 1619–25

(i) *The Amazon Company*, 1619–21

Authorities. The sources of information for this undertaking are nearly all to be found among the state papers in the Record Office. The Privy Council transactions of colonial business are printed in full in *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial Series*, vol. i, ed. W. L. Grant and J. Munro, 1908. The relevant documents among the Domestic and Colonial State Papers are summarized in the *Calendar of Colonial State Papers, 1574–1660*, ed. W. N. Sainsbury, 1860; but in the investigation of a little-known subject such as the present, where every word of a document may be of importance, I have found it advisable to work from the originals. This is especially necessary in the case of undated papers which have to be placed on internal evidence. The Foreign State Papers for the period have not been calendared, but the *Colonial Calendar, Addenda 1574–1674*, ed. Sainsbury, 1893, gives those documents from the foreign series which bear upon colonial business. The papers of the High Court of Admiralty throw some light upon proceedings overseas, containing, as they do, the evidence of witnesses in cases relating to damage or loss of shipping. The *Calendar of Venetian State Papers*, vol. xvi, 1910, contains a number of references to the Amazon Company's affairs. In addition, there is scanty but exclusive information to be obtained from Smith's *True Travels*, Harcourt's *Relation of a Voyage to Guiana*, 1626 edition, and one or two other authorities mentioned in the footnotes.

Captain Roger North, brother of Lord North, had been one of Ralegh's officers in the expedition of 1617–18. He had commanded a company in the force which went up to San Thome, and had creditably stood by his leader to the end, when so many others were falling away. Although he had not been in the Amazon he had heard of the Anglo-Irish settlements existing there,[1] and on his

[1] See above, chap. iii, pp. 71–3.

return he took up the plan of exploiting more vigorously the resources of the great river. He approached Robert Harcourt, whose patent of 1613, covering the region from the Amazon to the Essequibo, stood in the way of regular operations by any other projectors seeking official recognition. Harcourt, although not actively at work, refused to admit North and his associates on 'reasonable and honest conditions'. They therefore complained to the Privy Council, which on 7th March 1619 appointed a committee to inquire into the matter.[1] Harcourt's patent came before Sir Julius Caesar and Sir Edward Coke, who advised that it should be recalled and replaced by 'Commissions of Discovery' to be granted equally to Harcourt and North.[2]

This compromise was not adopted, for a month later the Council ordered the Solicitor-General to frame a grant of incorporation for the North party in the usual terms, 'and that the places where they shall have their Plantation or use their Trade and trafficke shall extend from the River of Wyapoco to five degrees of Southerly Latitude, from any parte or Braunch of the River of Amazones otherwise called Oreliana, and for Longitude into the Lande to be Lymitted from Sea to Sea'.[3] The interpretation of this seems to be that the boundaries of the concession were, on the coast, from the Wiapoco to the east side of the Amazon delta, a little beyond the meridian of Pará; thence due southwards through the interior to 5° S.; thence westwards along the 5° parallel to the Pacific, the northern limit being also along the parallel of

[1] *A. P. C., Col. Ser.*, vol. i, No. 34.

[2] Ibid., Nos. 35, 36. This is the last mention of Harcourt's name in the transaction, from which he appears now to have withdrawn.

[3] Ibid., No. 37.

the Wiapoco estuary ($4\frac{1}{3}$° N.) to the Pacific. Such a grant, whilst excluding the Guiana coast from the Wiapoco westwards, included not only the Portuguese settlement of Pará, but also a great slice of the Viceroyalty of Peru. The projectors had in fact overreached themselves, and had given an excellent handle to Spain to complain of the transaction. Like Ralegh, they were to find that although James I could be complaisantly innocent in the matter of geographical knowledge, he had no intention of shouldering the responsibility for the royal word so lightly passed on the representations of his petitioners. As regards the extension to the Pacific, it is not absolutely certain that the grant finally passed in the terms indicated, no copy of the patent being now traceable.[1] North himself said five years afterwards: 'it was refferred unto the Counsail Table, where after full information of his Majesties just & lawfull title, & also of the particulars of the countrie it selfe, & that the said parts were not in the present & actuall possession of the King of Spaine: their Lordships so satisfied the king therin & procured his graunt of Letters Pattents with great immunities to such as should engage themselves therin'.[2] It is somewhat hard to believe that after full discussion the thing would have been allowed. But as regards the inclusion of the Amazon delta so far eastwards as to contain Pará there is little doubt,[3] and this was afterwards sufficient to damn the enterprise. The patent passed the Great Seal on 5th September 1619,[4] the privileges and immunities being the

[1] Although there is no doubt that it was issued, it is not to be found in the Patent Rolls at the Record Office.

[2] C. O. 1/4, No. 3.

[3] Harcourt's *Relation*, 1626 ed., Dedication to Charles I.

[4] The date is revealed in the preamble to the patent obtained

same as formerly granted to Harcourt, except that there was to be no exemption from customs, but only from the extra impositions which James was levying on the strength of the prerogative.[1]

There had already been considerable talk about the project, which was warmly taken up at court.[2] The members of the Company included Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, the Earls of Arundel, Rutland, and Dorset, Lords Paget and Petre, ten knights, and others, with Captain North as governor.[3] They adopted the style of The Governor and Company of Noblemen and Gentlemen of the City of London Adventurers in and about the River of the Amazons, and engaged to pay up for the first voyage one-third of the sums they underwrote. The affair went forward 'with a great affection and cheerfulness', and North busied himself first in London and then at Plymouth in the preparation of his shipping.

But before he was ready to sail the prospect changed. Gondomar had been absent from England during these events, leaving Spanish interests in the charge of subordinate agents. As early as July these were sending complaints to Madrid,[4] and at the same time making highly-worded protests to the English government. So

by the later Guiana Company in 1627 (Patent Roll, 3 Charles I, part 5).

[1] *A. P. C., Col.*, vol. i, No. 39.

[2] Thomas Locke to Sir Dudley Carleton, S. P. Dom., James I, vol. cviii, No. 85, 30 Apr. 1619.

[3] Ibid., and *A. P. C., Col.*, vol. i, No. 58: Harcourt is not given as a member, but the list is not complete. There is, however, no record of his connexion with the Company, and the presumption is that he had nothing to do with it. See below, chap. v, p. 107, fn.

[4] Foreign Corresp., Spain, in *Colonial Calendar, Addenda, 1574–1674*, p. 58, report from Cottington, ambassador in Spain, to Secretary Naunton.

the matter went on into the winter, with no final decision reached. Towards the end of February 1620, Gondomar was known to be on his way back to England, and his sinister shadow preceded him. A letter of 26th February shows how the pro-Spanish and anti-Spanish factions were beginning to struggle over the Amazon project:

> 'We expect still the Spanish ambassador, but I know not how yt is after such a manner as the boyes use to play at, he comes and he comes not, for one week we heare he is at Paris, and the next that he is not yet on his way; once yt is thought the L. Digby attends him with great devotion, and I heare of some crosse language passed twixt him and the L. North at a table in court, about a journy Sir John [Roger] North is making to the river of Amazones in Guiana, which the L. Digbie argued against, as being to the prejudice of the K. of Spaine, and that the ambassador at his comming wold hinder yt, to which the L. North replied that then he wisht he might never come, and withall that he took the L. Digbie for the King of England's ambassador in Spaine, but yt seemed he is rather the K. of Spaine's ambassador in England.' [1]

The result was that North received an order from the King to suspend his sailing, and, since the ships were victualled and the mariners engaged, this proved a damaging blow to the investors.[2] Gondomar duly appeared, armed with a complete statement of the Spanish case. We do not know the details of his evidence, but its effect was that he 'did bouldlie and most confidentlie

[1] John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, at the Hague, S. P. Dom., James I, vol. cxii, No. 104.

[2] North's statement, C. O. 1/4, No. 3. The order was given before Gondomar's arrival. See also *Venetian Calendar*, vol. xvi, p. 207, in which the Venetian ambassador writes to the Senate concerning the suspension of permission to sail: 'This event has done not a little to increase the roots of discontent and make the branches spread of the dissatisfaction of many.' (1620, 19 March.)

affirme that his Master had the actuall and present possession of theis parts'. He said this at a meeting of the Privy Council[1] to which he was admitted, and although he was careful to speak honourably of North himself, he took a high tone about the inadmissibility of the enterprise. Putting aside the question of the Pacific coast, on which all must have conceded his case, he had the undoubted fact of the Portuguese occupation of Pará since 1615. The question was, did this constitute effective occupation of the whole Amazon delta, of which the western bank was 180 miles away? According to modern ideas it certainly did not; but Gondomar bullied the King and Council into virtually accepting his view.[2] Probably he asserted the existence of imaginary Portuguese stations in the islands and the main channel of the Amazon. The Council complimented him on the discretion and moderation of his speech, and saved their faces by declaring that they were not ready to make a mature answer, but would be pleased to consider his reasons in writing. Delay meant the death of the enterprise, for it would exhaust the investors' capital and give Gondomar an opportunity to reassert his ascendancy over the mind of James. He therefore played up to their hesitation by answering that he must have time to send to Spain for written evidence. This was an evident

[1] C. O. 1/2, No. 18; 1/4, No. 3; *A. P. C., Col.*, vol. i, No. 47. The Council meeting was held on 4 April.

[2] 'He would not heare our witnesses to the contrary' (North's statement). These witnesses may have been called to testify to prior occupation by Roe's and other English settlers, which gave England a claim to at least a part of the delta. But it must be remembered that these pioneers had received (so far as we know) no commissions or recognition of any kind from the English government.

subterfuge, since he had just come from Spain with a full knowledge of the business in hand. The Council, however, accepted the excuse, and meanwhile the embargo on North's shipping held good.

North was a man of initiative and resolution. He saw that there was at court a faction in his favour as well as a faction against him. He guessed also that the King was irresolute, and he came to the conclusion that it fell upon himself to decide the fate of the expedition. Although he could get no formal leave to sail, he received indirect encouragements: 'The Ship and Pinnace,' he declares, 'and all the Mariners and Landmen, were suffered to go about to Plimouth, and I got my Commission and agreements from the compagnie dispatched.' He remained in London until he heard that the men at Plymouth were on the point of dispersing. Then he went down, and lingered for three weeks more, 'till I receaved Letters that all was well and that the world expected I should goe without bidding'.[1] We do not know who advised him, but it was enough. He sailed on 30th April with a ship, a pinnace, and two shallops.[2] Remembering Ralegh's fate not two years before, he must have felt his head loose on his shoulders.

He made a good passage, and reached the Amazon in seven weeks. With his whole force he sailed 100 leagues up the river, which counting from Cabo do Norte would bring him approximately to the Xingú confluence. He found English and Irish settlers who had been there eight

[1] C. O. 1/4, No. 3. But it should be noted that North made these statements in 1625–6, when the position of affairs had entirely changed.

[2] Smith's *True Travels*, vol. ii, p. 187, the only authority which gives the date of sailing. Admiralty papers give the ship's name as the *William and Thomas*.

years, and 'reduced them to his company'.[1] Then Captain William White, with the 30-ton pinnace *Relief*, ran 200 leagues farther upstream, finding the country everywhere delightful, 'seeinge greate habitations and manie Nations, and heard a fame of others farr surpassinge them'.[2] A passage from de Laet evidently describes this voyage, and gives additional details: 'Je me souvien avoir ouy, il y a quelque temps, d'un certain Anglois digne de foi, qu'il avoit monté le principal canal de cette rivière vers l'Occident jusques à trois cent lieuës, & qu'il estoit passé dans un grand lac, l'eau duquel estoit parfaitement verde, & n'estoit pas bonne à boire, & qu'il avoit veu en chemin une bourgade de Sauvages, dans laquelle il y avoit deux ou trois cents maisons & environ mille personnes.'[3] The great stagnant lake seems to indicate the Tapajos confluence, where the latter river opens out to a width of ten miles, and the current is scarcely perceptible.

Whilst waiting at the head of the delta North settled a hundred of his men in a post of their own, amidst the existing plantations, concerning which we shall go more into detail in the following section of this chapter. Amongst those who stayed were Captain Charles Parker, a former officer of Ralegh's, two gentlemen named Thomas and William Hixson, and Thomas Warner, afterwards the founder of the English colony in St. Kitts.[4] They expected to do a very lucrative trade, and no doubt

[1] Ibid., p. 187.

[2] Harcourt's *Relation* (1626 ed.), pp. 6–7; C. O. 1/2, No. 18; Smith, p. 189.

[3] Jan de Laet, *Histoire du Nouveau Monde*, Leyden, 1640, p. 571. This French edition is translated without additions from the Latin of 1633.

[4] Smith, p. 188.

would have done so had connexion with England been maintained. There are several enumerations of the commodities of the country, one of which may be quoted:

> 'Such comodities as we certainlie know of, are Sugar Canes, Cotten Wolles, Dyes in grain, Woods of price, Tobacco, Druggs, Oyles, Gummes, wax, some spices, spleene-stones, feathers, and divers Mineralls; There are wholle Islands of wild Nuttmegg trees, which beare a perfect little nuttmegg and mace: there is also great store of wheate. The Christians which live in this Countrie take no paines nor labour for anie thinge; the Indians both house them, worke for them, bringe them victualls, and theire Commodities for a small reward and price, either of some Iron worke or glasse beades, and such like contemptible things, whereof greate vent would be made, and manie Artificers mainteyned.' [1]

After remaining some months, to see his men settled, North returned to England with cargoes of tobacco and other produce. He left behind him the pinnace and the two shallops for the use of the planters, and carried with him twenty-five of the pre-1620 settlers as passengers. Owing to the leakiness of his ship and the rottenness of her sails and cordage he made a very slow passage, and was obliged to put his head into the lion's mouth by touching at a Spanish port for supplies before making the English coast.[2] He arrived at the close of 1620 to find

[1] C. O. 1/2, No. 18 (statement of 1622–3).

[2] High Court of Admiralty, Book of Examinations, &c., No. 43, evidence of several persons given on 26, 29, and 30 Jan., and 1 Feb. 1621. Owing to the absence of page numbering in these MS. volumes references have to be given by dates, although the entries are not always in strict chronological order. For knowledge of this source of information I am indebted to an unpublished thesis (accessible in the Library of London University) by Mr. P. W. Day, 'The First Settlement of the Maritime Nations in the Spanish Antilles', 1916.

trouble awaiting him. Our first indication of his presence in England is a warrant of 6th January 1621 for his incarceration in the Tower.[1]

Gondomar, with whom all had appeared to be going well in April 1620, had been furious when he heard that North had slipped away from Plymouth without permission.[2] He was a man of commanding personality, and, if we may judge from the activity he stirred up in official circles, he must have made James and the Council fairly quail before him. 'Nothing would pacify him' but a proclamation declaring the King's 'utter mislike of their rash and insolent attempt', ordering the seizure of the adventurers by any vessels that might meet with them, and revoking any commission they might pretend to hold from his majesty. A letter went out to the Lord Deputy of Ireland commanding him to arrest North if he should put into an Irish port. A similar order was addressed to Buckingham, the Lord High Admiral, to have outward-bound ships warned to be on the look-out for the delinquents. And severe reprimands were dealt out to Sir Edward Seymour and four other persons at Plymouth, who had facilitated the supply of the expedition with necessaries.[3] James went further than this. Sir Robert Naunton, the Secretary of State, wrote to Carleton, the ambassador at the Hague, in a letter in which one can almost detect a tone of contempt, that the Dutch were

[1] *A. P. C., Col.*, vol. i, No. 61.

[2] *Venetian Calendar*, vol. xvi, p. 263. The Venetian ambassador states that Gondomar considered himself tricked, and suspected it to have been done with the royal connivance. His attitude aroused great popular indignation against Spain.

[3] *A. P. C., Col.*, vol. i, Nos. 54, 56, 57; *Colonial Cal., 1574–1660*, p. 23. The letters are dated 7 May; the proclamation, 15 May.

to be informed that the King 'doth utterly disavow this course'.[1]

North was then half-way across the ocean, unconscious of the storm raging in his wake; and the displeasure of James and Gondomar next vented itself upon the members of the Company in England.[2] On 7th May the clerk to the Council was instructed to go to the Earl of Warwick, in whose custody the patent was thought to lie, and to require him in the King's name to give it up; and on 23rd May Warwick and all the available members of the Company attended before the Council, made humble surrender and submission, and prayed for an indemnity 'whereby they may bee freed from anie Dainger of anie precedent Acts Donn by them by virtue of their said Charter, before the surrendor of the same: which was thought fitt, and ordered accordingly'.[3] So the Amazon Company came to an end after a life of less than a year.

North escaped less lightly. On his return he was committed to the Tower on 6th January 1621, released on 28th February, again committed on 12th April, and finally set free on 18th July, on giving security not to adventure further to the Amazon.[4] The farmers of the tobacco imposition now demanded their duty of 6*d.* per lb. upon his cargoes, holding that although the patent had excused this payment the privilege was now invalid. The Council compromised the matter by ordering the payment of 3*d.* Some of the cargo belonged to the pre-1620 Irish

[1] *Colonial Calendar, Addenda, 1574–1674*, p. 59.

[2] Lord North was sent to the Tower when his brother's evasion became known.—*Venetian Calendar*, vol. xvi, p. 267.

[3] *A. P. C., Col.*, vol. i, Nos. 55, 58; S. P. Dom., James I, vol. cxv, No. 51.

[4] *A. P. C.*, Nos. 61, 62, 64, 67.

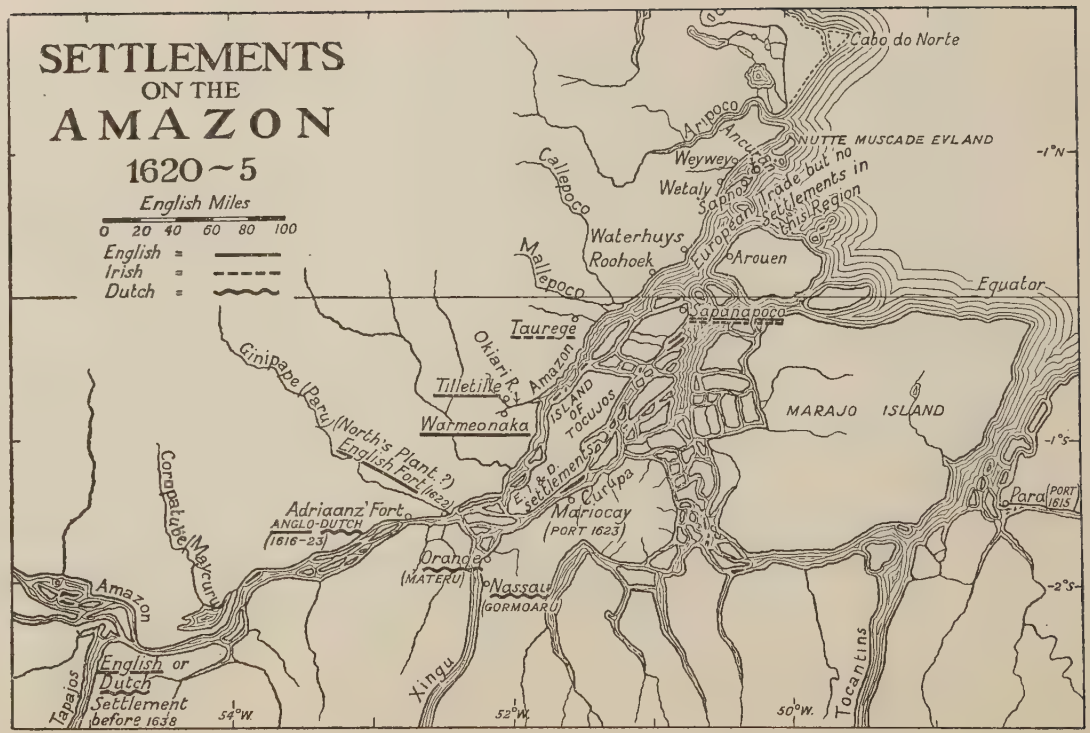
settlers,[1] and they paid in accordance with this decision. North persevered in demanding exemption for his own share, and finally obtained it for a quantity not exceeding 7,000 lb. in weight. By this time (Sept.–Oct. 1621) the tobacco was certified by impartial assessors to be in such bad condition that it was not worth a shilling a pound.[2]

(ii) *The Amazon Settlements*, 1620–5

Authorities. As in the period prior to 1620, for this topic the English state papers almost entirely fail us as sources of information. The latter has to be pieced together mainly from foreign evidence. Of this the most remarkable is a description of the voyage of some Frenchmen to the Amazon in 1623 under the flag of the Dutch West India Company. One of them wrote a day-to-day journal of the expedition, accompanied by maps of the lower Amazon and the Guiana coast and rivers, which is now Sloane MS. 179 B. The information obtainable from this authority is supplemented by de Laet's map of 1625, reissued in 1630 and reprinted in the *Report of the United States Commission on the Venezuela Boundary* (*Atlas*), 1897; also by Sanson d'Abbeville's map of 1656, reproduced in the same volume. William Blaeuw's maps of 1635, 1640, &c., are, for this region, only copies of de Laet. Harcourt's *Relation*, 1626 ed., and Scott's MS. on the Amazon (Rawl., A 175, f. 355) give additional details. The destruction of a great part of these plantations in 1623 and 1625 is described in Portuguese accounts and vaguely alluded to in others mentioned in the footnotes. A detailed but unsatisfactory narrative of the Irish activities comes from Add. MSS., 36322, f. 158, &c., a transcript from the Spanish archives.

Turning now to the question of the European settlements existing in the Amazon delta during the years immediately following North's expedition, it will be convenient first to give a provisional enumeration of the

[1] *Venetian Calendar*, vol. xvi, p. 553.
[2] *A. P. C.*, Nos. 68, 69, 72, 73, 76.


SETTLEMENTS
ON THE
AMAZON
1620~5
English Miles
0 20 40 60 80 100
English =
Irish =
Dutch =
Cabo do Norte
Aripoco
Ancuri
NUTTE MUSCADE EVLAND
Weyweya
Wetaly
Sapho
European Trade but no Settlements in this Region
Callepoco
Waterhuys
Roohoek
Arouen
Mallepoco
Equator
Sapanapoco
Taurege
Okiari R.
Amazon
Ginipape (Peru)
(North's Plant.?)
English Fort (1622)
Tilletille
Warmeonaka
ISLAND of Tocuyos
MARAJO ISLAND
E. & D. settlements
Curupa
Mariocay
(PORT 1623)
Para
(PORT 1615)
Adriaanz' Fort
ANGLO-DUTCH
(1616-23)
Corapatuba
Mayacuru
Orange
(MATERU)
Nassau
(GORMOARU)
Amazon
English or Dutch Settlement before 1638
Tapajos
Xingu
Tocantins
1°N
1°S
2°S
54½°W.
52½°W.
50½°W.

various English, Dutch, and Irish holdings, and afterwards to examine the evidence bearing upon them. Unlike the Portuguese, who used the Pará channel, the English and Dutch adventurers entered the Amazon by the west side of the delta, passing the Cabo do Norte. Just south of the cape was a group of native villages on the islands and the shores of the mainland. The Sloane map gives their names as Ancuran, Sapno, and Arouen upon islands; and Weywey, Wetaly, Waterhuys, and Roohoek on the main shore. The Dutch appear to have had no plantations in this region, but they were on friendly terms with the natives, and may have maintained a few factors among them. Southwards up the main river and just under the equator was the Anglo-Irish settlement of Sapanapoco, on the northern extremity of the island now named Ilha de Porcos.[1] On the mainland, in almost the same latitude, a little creek called the Taurege joined the Amazon, and a few miles up it lay the Irish plantation of Taurege. Forty minutes south of the equator was a larger tributary then called the Okiari, and on its banks, well away from the shore of the main river, were the English plantations of Tilletille and Warmeonaka. From this point for about fifty miles up the Amazon there is evidence of occupation by a number of settlements, which, however, are vague and undefined until we come to the confluence of the great river Xingú at the head of the delta. On the right or eastern bank of the Xingú, looking out upon a maze of islands, were the Dutch posts of Nassau and Orange. Joining the Amazon from the north-west at the point of the Xingú confluence was the River Ginipape (now the Parú), and at its mouth stood an English fort.

[1] Modern references are to the map of the Amazon printed in the *Geographical Journal*, vol. xvii, p. 343.

Lastly, some twenty miles up the Amazon from this point, and also on the northern bank, was the Anglo-Dutch fort established by Adriaansz in 1616.

The above list was described as provisional for reasons which will now appear. The seaward group, inside the Cabo do Norte, is shown on all the maps; and the Sloane map,[1] the most detailed, appends little drawings of villages to the names. The accompanying narrative makes no mention of plantations, although the expedition called at two or three of the places, and communicated with the Indians:[2] some Dutch names in this group will be noted.

With regard to the Anglo-Irish group from the equator to the Okiari river, the evidence is more definite. The writer of the Sloane account says his party spoke with the English and Irish at Sapanapoco. Then they crossed to 'Tauregue, habitacion des Hirlandois'. He shows on the edge of his map the mouth of the Taurege river but not the settlement, the reason being that the latter was some miles up in the interior, as de Laet's map plainly indicates.[3] Proceeding southwards to the Okiari, the French voyagers went up that river in their shallop to 'Tilletille, habitacion des Anglois'. It was six leagues up, in a country dotted with little woods. Going inland another five leagues they came to Warmeonaka, another agreeable place, 'ou les Anglois avoient force champs pour planter le Toubac'. At this point the Frenchmen, who had come out to look for a plantation site for their families under the Dutch Company, decided to leave the Amazon and try their

[1] Sloane MSS., 179 B, f. 12. Some of the names on the map, and also some parts of the narrative, are so faded as to be very hard to decipher.

[2] *Ibid.*, ff. 6 b, 7.

[3] The de Laet map was first published in that author's *Beschryvinghe van West-Indien*, Leyden, 1625.

fortune along the Guiana coast. They were discouraged by what they had heard of Portuguese aggressions in 1623. For the higher plantations, therefore, the Sloane MS. is not available as evidence.

Extending from the equator to nearly 2° S. is a chain of large islands of which the greatest, now called Ilha Grande de Gurupá, seems to have been known to contemporaries as the island of Tocujos.[1] On this island there were, according to Portuguese accounts,[2] a number of enemy settlements in 1623, but we have no details concerning their names and positions. Their nationality would seem to have been predominantly Dutch. More certain is the evidence about the Dutch forts of Orange and Nassau, on the right bank of the Xingú, close to its mouth. They were established at the close of the sixteenth century, were known to the Portuguese in 1616,[3] and existed until 1623, when the Portuguese destroyed them.[4]

The existence of an English fort at the mouth of the

[1] The identification rests upon a comparison of an account in Berredo, pp. 218–19, of the destruction of a Dutch ship off the island of Tocujos with the description of the same incident in Sloane MSS., 179 B, f. 7, as having taken place at the mouth of the Okiari in 40′ S. But the word Tocujos is very loosely used by the Portuguese writers: sometimes it seems to mean the whole mass of islands in the western half of the delta; and in one reference it is applied to the main channel of the Amazon itself, between these islands and the Guiana mainland (*Documentos . . . Brasil*, p. 190. The form here used is Tucuyn, obviously a mistake for Tucuju on the part of the transcriber of the MS.). On the whole it is safer to regard Tocujos as the name of a region rather than as that of a single geographical unit.

[2] Berredo, p. 218.

[3] See above, chap. iii, p. 67.

[4] Aranha's narrative in *Documentos . . . Brasil*, pp. 231–4. Aranha names them Maturu and Nassau. De Laet's map calls them Materoo and Gormoaru.

Ginipape is attested by only one piece of direct evidence. Scott's Description and History of the Amazons says briefly: 'On the North Bank of the Amazon . . . you will come to the River Ginipape, where was a plantation of English, A. D. 1622: who were drove out by the porteguise.'[1] The probability is very strong that this was the place planted by Captain North in 1620. Its position tallies approximately with the hundred leagues run from Cabo do Norte, which is the only indication we have from English sources of the locality of his settlement. Scott avowedly drew his information from the Dutch pioneers, who would not be likely to remember the name of an English adventurer: and there is nothing in Scott's account to show that he had ever heard of North, so that it is not strange that he fails to couple North's name with the fort at the mouth of the Ginipape. The foundation of the remaining settlement, the Anglo-Dutch fort six leagues above the Ginipape, has already been described.[2]

Another colony whose locality is doubtful is the subject of a deposition made to the Spanish government in 1631.[3] One, Gaspar Chillan, described as an Irishman, stated that in 1622 an English corsair named 'Don Thomas Rodriguez'[4] went to the Amazon with five ships. Losing one of them, and being short of supplies, he put ashore all the Irishmen he had with him, with a promise to relieve them, which he never did. The Irishmen gained the goodwill of the natives, and built a fort. Next some Dutch ships appeared, and their commander asked leave to

[1] Rawl. MSS., A 175, f. 357.

[2] See above, chap. iii, pp. 67–9.

[3] Archivo General de Indias, transcribed in Add. MSS., 36322, ff. 158, 165, &c.; printed in Espada's *Texeira*, pp. 119–22.

[4] Espada's version says 'Don Tomas Ro'.

plant his men among the Irish. But the latter contrived to kidnap the Dutch officers, and forced them to hand over their guns and powder as ransom, after which the Dutch went away, without having gained the co-operation of the Irish against the interests of the King of Spain. The Irish colony thus established lasted until 1625, when it was destroyed by the Portuguese.

There are several problems arising from this story. In the first place, its veracity is suspect, owing to the fact that it was related with the object of ingratiating its narrator with the Spanish authorities. For it was coupled with a petition for Gaspar Chillan and his associates to be allowed once more to settle in the Amazon on the understanding that, as Irish Catholics, they would be of service to Spain in helping to exclude Dutch and English heretics from the river. The colonists of 1622 must have been very simple if they imagined that, after intruding without licence from the Spanish government, they could gain its goodwill by tricking other intruders. It is very unlikely that this was in truth the motive of their quarrel with the Dutch. Another unsettled point is the locality of the colony. Chillan gives no clue, and the Portuguese accounts do not distinguish it from others destroyed in 1625. The transliteration of the proper names into Spanish raises other questions. Who was Gaspar Chillan? He may have been Jasper Dillon or O'Brien, but neither these names nor any other remotely resembling Chillan appear elsewhere in the records. Still more important, who was Don Thomas Ro or Rodriguez? He was an Englishman evidently of wealth and standing, and it is tempting to identify him with Sir Thomas Roe. But the known facts about the latter's career do not admit of it, unless we are to assume that the date 1622 is a mistake for 1612.

English state papers show that Roe, after returning from India in September 1619, was in London in July 1620 and in the summer of 1621, went to Turkey in the autumn of that year as ambassador, and remained there for several years following.[1] It is almost safe to say that he could never have been in the Amazon at any time after his departure for India in 1614. If indeed he planted Chillan's colony, he must have done so in the course of a voyage not otherwise directly recorded in 1612. But to the present writer's mind a general view of the evidence renders this improbable. The date is a stumbling-block, and Chillan's story does not give the impression that the settlement had endured for so long a period as thirteen years. No trace is to be found of any other English pioneer whose name could be corrupted to Rodriguez, and the problem of the latter's identity remains unsolved.[2]

The facts given above represent all the information it has been possible to collect concerning the positions and numbers of the English and Irish plantations in the Amazon during the years following North's expedition. We have now to record the efforts made by the Spanish

[1] *Domestic Calendar, 1619–23*, pp. 170, 276, 301, 393, 586: see also *Dictionary of National Biography*.

[2] It occurred to me that 'Ro' might possibly be a Spanish variant of 'Carew' or 'Cary'. Henry Cary, Lord Falkland, was at this time interesting himself in Dublin in a project for settling Newfoundland, in part with Irish emigrants. Examination of the state papers and pamphlets of the period has, however, failed to reveal any trace of Irishmen connected with this movement going to Guiana, and the clue has, in my hands, failed. The only Thomas Carew traceable at this time is extremely unlikely to have had any concern with colonization (see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*). Robert Hayman, governor of the English settlement in Newfoundland during the years 1621–8, went to Guiana at the close of the latter year and died there in 1629 (see below, chap. v, p. 121).

and Portuguese authorities to expel the intruders from the river.

Gondomar had been much annoyed [1] to find that, in spite of the suppression of the Amazon Company, North had left behind him an established colony of a hundred Englishmen. So long as James I reigned it might be possible to prevent any but a clandestine trade being carried on with this settlement,[2] but the political situation might change, and the nucleus might expand into a powerful English interest: North himself persisted in regarding his patent as suspended, not cancelled. Dutch enterprise was also taking a more alarming shape. The year 1621 had witnessed the recommencement of the Spanish attempt to conquer the seven revolted provinces, and also the establishment of the Dutch West India Company with a monopoly of colonial enterprise in the Atlantic. Spain had taken little notice of unofficial adventurers acting without the authority of any government. She had to look differently upon Englishmen planted under a royal patent which might at any time be revived,[3] and upon Dutchmen who were servants of a

[1] Harcourt's *Relation*, 1626 ed., pp. 7–8.

[2] That this clandestine trade existed is attested by a letter of the Venetian ambassador in September 1622. After speaking of the King's prohibition of the Amazon enterprise he continues: 'Nevertheless his restraint does not suffice to bridle completely so vehement a desire, and some continue to attempt such voyages, but not being assisted by the public purse, only by those of private individuals incapable of doing much, and so without the means necessary to encounter the numerous difficulties, they find it hard to maintain themselves, let alone improve their position.'—*Venetian Calendar*, vol. xvii, p. 425.

[3] The Prince of Wales dissented from his father's view of the Amazon matter, and expressed his intention of permitting a revival of the enterprise when he should succeed to the throne.—*Venetian Calendar*, vol. xviii, p. 463, 18 Oct. 1624.

corporation intended to rival the great East India Company.

Accordingly, Madrid bestirred itself to impress upon its satellites at Lisbon that an effort must be made to destroy the nuisance before it should increase. As a result an officer named Luis Aranha de Vasconcellos went out early in 1623, with special orders to arrange with the Portuguese at Pará for an attack in force upon the enemy settlements.[1] He found in the Captain of Pará, Bento Maciel Parente, an energetic ally. They levied about a hundred white troops and 1,000–1,500 Indians in canoes, in readiness for an advance up the Pará river and through the Curupá channels to the head of the Amazon delta. After destroying the settlements in that region they purposed to sweep the enemy before them down the main channel seawards to Cabo do Norte. Aranha set out first at the end of May with an advance party. He entered the Curupá, but judged the enemy located near its junction with the Amazon to be too strong, and waited for Maciel and the main body. Maciel quitted Pará on 18th June, accompanied by Pedro Teixeira, and all joined forces in the Curupá. They attacked first a strongly fortified post, described by the Portuguese as held by English, French, and Dutch in unison. Its locality is not indicated, but it would appear to be the fort mentioned by Scott at the mouth of the Ginipape, which we have tentatively identified with North's plantation. After a spirited fight the defenders gave way and fled down the river.[2]

[1] Berredo, p. 215. Harcourt states that Gondomar had three ships dispatched from Spain for the purpose. Portuguese accounts do not mention this.

[2] So far the authority is Berredo, pp. 215–17. Harcourt (1626), pp. 7–8, may be referring to the same transaction, and if so he

Maciel, according to the Portuguese story, then attacked and burned other settlements, of which we have no precise knowledge. Scott, however, tells us on the authority of de Ruyter and the Dutch pioneers that Adriaansz's Anglo-Dutch colony, six leagues above the Ginipape, came to an end at this time. It was attacked by the Portuguese and a great force of Indians. Its defenders had also Indian allies, and the invaders were beaten off. But a number of the English and Dutch had been killed, and the survivors abandoned the place with all their goods, taking passage to Europe in two ships which reached them later in 1623.[1] These two accounts may represent different versions of the same occurrences.

The Portuguese next entered the Xingú and took the old-established Dutch forts of Orange and Nassau, killing or capturing all their occupants, including a number of negro slaves, and sending many prisoners to Pará.[2] They then crossed over to the islands of Tocujos, found some fortified settlements deserted, and were about to pursue the campaign against others, when they heard of the approach of a large armed ship with reinforcements for the colonists. This was a Dutch vessel commanded by Pieter Adriaansz himself, and perhaps sailing to or from the fort above the Ginipape. Maciel, putting his best

throws a different light upon it. He says the English avoided the blow by retiring into the bush, harassing the enemy by means of their native allies, and returning after the invasion had passed. Considerable damage was done to the stock and buildings of the English colonists, but little to their persons.

[1] See the extract from Scott's Amazon MS., printed above, chap. iii, pp. 68–9.

[2] Aranha's account, dated 12 May 1625, in *Documentos . . . Brasil*, pp. 231–4. Aranha describes himself as the leader throughout, and says nothing about Maciel. The latter is the hero of Berredo's story.

men into canoes, attacked the ship so vigorously in the channel between Tocujos and the western bank of the Amazon that Adriaansz was forced to beach and burn her at the mouth of the Okiari River.[1] He himself and the survivors of his crew escaped, presumably to the English settlements up the Okiari. Aranha's account also speaks of the destruction of a ship with great slaughter, and says that in her were six English gentlemen, one of them being 'o Capitão parqua', brother of a councillor of the King of England. This is sufficient to identify the person in question as Captain Charles Parker, whose brother was the Lord Monteagle of the Gunpowder Plot. He had sailed with Ralegh in 1617, and John Smith states that he went out with North in 1620, remained at the latter's plantation, and persevered for six years in attempts to colonize the Amazon.[2] He must have been going on or returning from a visit to England as a passenger in the Dutch ship, and the place at which she was destroyed is confirmatory evidence of the supposition that North's plantation was well up towards the head of the delta. Parker was obviously one of the survivors.

At this point the Portuguese campaign ceased. Maciel and Aranha drew off their men from Tocujos, which they had at first thought of holding, crossed the Curupá to its southern bank, and established there a fort called Mariocay to serve as an outpost against future invaders. Then, leaving a garrison behind them, they returned to Pará 'covered with military glory'.[3] After they had gone, Pieter Jansz, commander of another Dutch ship, with the English and their native allies, drove out the garrison

[1] Berredo, pp. 218–19; Sloane MSS., 179 B, f. 7.
[2] *True Travels*, ii, pp. 187–8.
[3] Berredo, p. 220.

from Mariocay,[1] but the Portuguese returned ere long and occupied the place in permanence.

The net result of the fighting of 1623 had been to clear out the intruders from all the upper plantations. The Dutch possessions of Orange and Nassau, the Anglo-Dutch fort of Adriaansz, and the English post at the mouth of the Ginipape had all been destroyed. So also had an unspecified number of plantations on the island of Tocujos, which seem to have been for the most part Dutch. Others on the same island, including perhaps that of the Irish under Gaspar Chillan, had escaped. The Anglo-Irish group of plantations under and a little south of the equator had been entirely untouched, for the French author of the Sloane manuscript found them all flourishing when he came upon the scene at the close of the year. The greatest sufferers had been the Dutch, for they seem to have had virtually nothing left, and they were so discouraged that they made only one more attempt to re-establish themselves.[2] Harcourt explains that they were so heavily hit because their plantations were exposed on islands or on the banks of the main channels. Also they seem to have clung to them obstinately so that there was no escape when overcome. Some of the English plantations, on the other hand, as the maps indicate, resembled Jamestown in Virginia in being located many

[1] Harcourt (1626), p. 8; Sloane MSS., 179 B, f. 8. The former claims the feat for the English alone, the latter for Jansz. It is not likely that Jansz with his single crew would have been strong enough, and it seems reasonable to conclude that the English assisted.

[2] Cf. the English paper of *c.* 1624 (C. O. 1/5, No. 45). The writer says the West India Company are staggered by the news and in doubt what to do: but they are pushing the colonization of other parts of Guiana.

miles up narrow and defensible creeks. This was probably one of the reasons which caused the Portuguese to refrain from attacking them. We may infer that Roger North's settlement, whether or not it was actually the one mentioned by Scott at the mouth of the Ginipape, was one of those destroyed. English accounts do not definitely admit it, but John Smith speaks of the discouragement of the planters with 'the disorders that did grow in the Amazons for want of government amongst their Countreymen'—a euphemistic way of describing what had really happened. For this reason Thomas Warner, John Rhodes, and their associates quitted South America, and embarked upon the colonization of St. Kitts; others, like Captain Parker, persisted, although their original colony was scattered. Some of North's planters were encountered by a witness who went to the Amazon in 1624–5. He mentions that they had been shipping their produce to Flushing, and says that they were all killed or taken by the Portuguese soon after he met them, that is, presumably in the fighting of 1625.[1] The English pioneers in general were not deterred by their share in the disaster, and, as we shall see, came out in increasing numbers in the years which followed.[2]

The Pará authorities seem to have done nothing in 1624 to complete their stroke of the previous year. In 1625 they heard news which showed that the enemy would recover the lost ground unless a new campaign was undertaken. The West India Company had sent out ships to

[1] H. C. A., Examinations, No. 53, evidence of Richard Jones, 11 Oct. 1637.

[2] Aranha, writing in 1625, admits that the English are still strong, but regards the Dutch as disposed of, except as carriers to the English settlements. *Documentos . . . Brasil*, p. 233.

reconnoitre the position, and had now followed these with a party of 200 Dutch-Irish colonists commanded by Nicolas Hofdan or Oudaen and Philip Purcell, the latter an Irishman, and both men of experience on the Amazon. These were establishing themselves in the Curupá, and in the isles of Tocujos there were more English and Irish pouring in.[1] Pedro Teixeira, accompanied by the Franciscan Antonio da Marciana, set out from Pará with white troops and Indians, and arrived in the Curupá at the end of May. They attacked Oudaen and Philip Purcell, and drove them out of their settlement after a long combat, this occasion probably marking the re-establishment of the Portuguese fort of Mariocay. Then they turned out of the Curupá down the main channel of the Amazon. Here they took two more settlements, and sent a number of prisoners, Dutch and Irish, to Pará. Among these was a certain James Purcell, who became prominent again at a later date.[2]

It was on this expedition that Teixeira put an end to the Irish colony, of which Gaspar Chillan was a member, and which may have been one of those mentioned in the foregoing account. The details of its fall are narrated only by Chillan himself.[3] In 1625, he says, Teixeira and Marciana approached the settlement with their troops. The seventy Irishmen who held it surrendered without resistance, the implication being that they could not contemplate placing themselves in the position of enemies to the King of Spain; whereupon the Portuguese massacred fifty-four of them and carried the rest away

[1] Berredo, p. 227.

[2] Berredo, pp. 229–30; Relation of the Jesuit Luis Figueira, printed in Espada's *Teixeira*, pp. 121–31.

[3] Add. MSS., 36322, f. 163, &c.

as prisoners. The most likely position for this settlement was on the western side of the large island of Tocujos.

Teixeira's raid of 1625 marks the virtual end of Dutch colonization in the Amazon delta, whilst leaving, so far as we know, the English hold upon the equatorial group of plantations intact. Meanwhile the political situation in England was changing with the outbreak of war with Spain and the death of James I. The English government was now prepared to countenance South American undertakings, and Roger North was working to reconstitute the Company which had been suppressed in 1620. The most vigorous period of English exploitation was now about to open, and such Hollanders as we find henceforward in the Amazon are there under the flag of the new undertaking, whose fortunes we have next to consider.

V

THE GUIANA COMPANY, 1626–35

Authorities. The story of the organization and decline of the Guiana Company is in part recoverable from a number of documents in the Record Office, some of them abstracted in the *Calendars* of Colonial and Domestic State Papers and others existing among the unprinted archives of the High Court of Admiralty; and from some manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, particularly the argumentative account written by the Rev. Richard Thornton and entitled by him 'A Happie Shipwrack' (Ashmolean MSS., 749, No. 2). Papers in the possession of the Corporation of Southampton throw light on the Wiapoco branch of the Company's activities. The severe fighting which ended in the expulsion of the Company from the Amazon is almost unrecorded in the English archives, and, as before, its story is mainly traceable from Portuguese sources. Of contemporary printed works only Smith's *True Travels* has any bearing upon this part of the subject.

THE simultaneous commencement of the Spanish war and the reign of Charles I gave new hope to Captain Roger North and the would-be promoters of colonization in Guiana. It had been possible for this party to carry on a clandestine trade with the Amazon in Dutch shipping, but they desired something more than this, a national recognition of the enterprise, and a measure of government support which would give promise of a success comparable to that of Virginia. James I had given such support only for a few months in 1619–20: under his son the omens were more favourable. Robert Harcourt was still keen upon the undertaking. He had stood aloof from the Amazon Company, doubtless in pique at the supersession of his own prior patent.[1] But he now joined forces

[1] This seems to be a fair inference from the absence of Harcourt's name from the records of 1619–21. The *Report of the Hist. MSS.*

with North, consented to merge his claims with those of his rival, and issued an enlarged edition of his *Relation of a Voyage to Guiana* with the object of stimulating public interest. Nevertheless, as will appear, the hostility between the two men was appeased only for a time, and ultimately did much to mar the new Company's prospects.

The first official intimation of the revived project is contained in an order from the King to the Attorney-General, early in 1626, directing him to draw up a new grant of incorporation.[1] The instructions expressly place North and Harcourt upon an equality: 'Whereas Roger North and Robt. Harcourt Esquires have founde out and discovered meanes by shippinge (and are desirous) to take journeys unto the River of the Amazons . . . his Majesty's pleasure is that you prepare a Bill fitt for his signature contayninge a graunte of incorporacion to the said Roger North & Robt. Harcourt and such others as they shall suffer to be incorporated with them.' The grantees are to have as ample privileges as have been granted in the case of previous undertakings of like nature, with freedom from impost (not customs) upon their imports and exports, and liberty to transport men, ships, and ammunition for their purpose. The geographical limits are to be, on the coast, from the Essequibo to the Amazon, including all islands within twenty miles of the land, and in the interior, from a point five degrees south-

Commission on the Cowper MSS., vol. i, p. 107, mentions under date 1619 a printed 'Preamble for Subscriptions' to be underwritten by those who engage themselves to Roger North and Robert Harcourt. But this is evidently a copy of the prospectus prepared for the Guiana Company (see S. P. Domestic, Charles I, vol. 24, No. 20), and the correct date is 1626.

[1] C. O. 1/4, No. 8. The document is undated, but is prior to 3 April 1626, when a reference to it occurs in a dated paper.

ward of any part or branch of the Amazon right through the continent to the Pacific. This had the effect of combining the privileges separately granted to Harcourt and North in former patents.[1] Since there was no longer any pretence of friendship with Spain, the extension to the Pacific, however impracticable of realization, was not so preposterous as it had been in 1619.

The formal issue of this grant was delayed until the summer of 1627, but in the meantime preparations went forward on the basis of its terms. In March 1626 North drew up a prospectus of the undertaking in the usual glowing phrases, pointing out the wealth of merchandise to be obtained and the strategical importance of a Guiana settlement in relation to further projects in the Antilles, and asserting that many of the colonists planted in 1620 still remained in the country, living on good terms with the Indians. A manuscript copy of this document was sent to the Duke of Buckingham on 16th March 1626 :[2] it was also printed for general distribution.[3] The next step was to notify the public of the conditions upon which investors might participate, which was effected in a printed 'Coppie of the Preamble for the Subscriptions, intimating the conditions of the Adventure'.[4] The example of this paper preserved in the Record Office is endorsed by its recipient as received on 3rd April 1626. It mentions that Robert Harcourt has surrendered his former grant upon very reasonable terms, and invites subscribers to join with him and North in forming a new

[1] See above, chap. ii, p. 49, and chap. iv, p. 81.

[2] C. O. 1/4, No. 4.

[3] Ibid., 3 copies, Nos. 5, 6, 7. The printed copies contain additional matter.

[4] S. P. Domestic, Charles I, vol. xxiv, No. 20. See above, footnote to p. 107.

corporation for which His Majesty has ordered a patent to be made out. Such subscribers are to be mentioned by name in the new patent, and are to undertake to pay up one-third of the sum they underwrite, as soon as the grant shall have passed the seals. Harcourt and North are to have especially favourable treatment (not further defined) on account of their previous expenses and services. At a later date £50 was fixed as the minimum subscription entitling an investor to membership in the Company.[1]

There is no record of any dispatch of shipping to Guiana in 1626–7. On 26th February in the latter year North petitioned the King for the allotment to the Company of some prizes taken at sea,[2] but it does not appear that anything was done. Business in fact was at a standstill pending the issue of the patent, and that seems to have been delayed whilst the promoters collected an imposing list of original subscribers, whose names were to be enrolled in the document. We may infer from the delay that it was no easy task to persuade the great men of the day to join the enterprise. There were, of course, many competing colonial projects afloat in the early years of Charles I.

At length, in May–June 1627, the preliminary work was accomplished, and the patent passed the Great Seal. It constituted the fifty-five original adventurers a corporation under the name of The Governor and Company of Noblemen and Gentlemen of England for the Plantation of Guiana. The fifty-five comprised fifteen peers, one peeress, two bishops, nineteen baronets and knights, one doctor of divinity, and seventeen esquires and gentlemen, the Duke of Buckingham being nominated Governor.[3]

[1] C. O., 1/4, No. 28 (June 1627).

[2] S. P. Dom., Charles I, vol. liv, No. 18.

[3] The patent, in English, is in the Patent Roll of 3 Charles I,

Some of the members promised £150, some £100, none less than £50. General courts were to be held at four fixed dates in each year, for the transaction of the greater affairs of the Company. Ordinary courts were to meet more frequently for minor business. At the first meeting, in Gray's Inn Hall, on 8th June, Captain Roger North was elected Deputy-Governor, and a standing council was chosen. The second court, five days later, appointed Sir Henry Spelman treasurer, and instructed him to call up one-third of every member's subscription. By the terms of the patent the Company was empowered to collect an entrance fee of £20 from persons joining after the issue of that document. It was agreed, however, to waive this fine until the Company should be in a stronger position: the total capital as yet promised, but not paid up, could not have exceeded £5,000, and it was desirable to attract more.[1]

The patent itself contains a complete list of the original members' names.[2] In addition, a document at the

part 5. The King's signature is dated 19 May, and the document passed the seals on 2 June.

[1] The above details are drawn from C. O. 1/4, No. 28, a printed sheet dated 20 June 1627.

[2] The original members were: The Duke of Buckingham; Earls of Pembroke, Montgomery, Carlisle, Holland, and Mulgrave; Anne, Countess of Dorset; Lords Killutagh, Mansfield, Rochford, St. John, le Despenser, Ley, North, Grey of Groby, and Vere of Tilbury; the Bishops of London and Lichfield; Sir Thos. Finch, Sir Robert Naunton, Sir Dudley North, Sir Christopher Nevill, Sir John Hobart, Sir Francis Wortley, Sir John Mounson, Sir Allan Apsley, Sir James Ochterlony, Sir Henry Spelman, Sir Samuel Saltonstall, Sir Henry Mildmay, Sir Alex. Temple, Sir Oliver Cheyney, Sir Edward Peyton, Sir Roger North, Sir Charles Cavendish, Sir Arthur Gorges, Sir John Washington; Henry King, D.D.; Capt. Roger North, Capt. Robert Harcourt, Carew Raleigh,

Bodleian, of approximate date 1629, enumerates the majority of those joining the Company after the date of the grant.[1] From these particulars it may be inferred that the Guiana Company, like its predecessors, was in the main a courtiers' undertaking, receiving little support from the business circles of the City. The co-operation between the court and the merchants, which had been so marked a feature of Elizabethan enterprise, had been weakened by the distrust arising from twenty-five years of Stuart government. The mercantile classes no longer confided in the promises of the Crown to support aggressions on territory actively claimed by Spain and Portugal. More attractive investments were also offering themselves in the unoccupied regions of North America and the Lesser Antilles.

Early in 1628 the Company dispatched what is fairly

Capt. Simon Harcourt, William Trumbull, Henry Seckford, Ralph Whitfield, Edward Johnson, Hugh May, John Ingleby, Capt. Simon Leake, Simon Rowse, Edward Palavicini, Francis Burnell, Capt. William Saker, Daniel Gookin, and William Martin. The duplication of 'Sir Roger North, Knight' and 'Captain Roger North, Esquire' is curious. It is certain from later references that the captain never received a knighthood, and the inference is that there were two persons of the same name, both members of the Company.

[1] Tanner MSS., 71, ff. 161–2, a list of members whose subscriptions were still in arrears. Internal evidence fixes the date as between August 1628 and April 1630. The members joining after the issue of the patent are sixteen in number: George Eveling, Richard Boothby, Cornelius Conquest, Thomas Littleton, Dr. Humphrey Ailworth, John Pinchin, — Mason, Henry and Edward Blennerhasset, Nathaniel Hobart, Henry Mandit, Gabriel Ellis, Rev. Robert Sanderson, Rev. Richard Thornton, Thomas Nevynson, and Richard Wagstaff. There were probably a few others whose subscriptions were fully paid, and who therefore do not appear in the list. Of the original 55 members, 32 are shown as being still in arrears.

certain to have been its first expedition. Among the crowd of prisoners sent into Pará as a result of Teixeira's raid of 1625 had been the Irishman James Purcell. This man and some of his friends, by favour of a priest, obtained leave to return to Europe. They quitted Pará in June 1627, and sailed for Spain, whence they departed to their own country, by which presumably England is meant.[1] There they entered at once into the service of a company of merchants which fitted them out with ships, arms, and supplies, and sent them out to the Amazon to plant tobacco. The Portuguese writer knows nothing of the Guiana Company by name, but that must be the body to which he refers. John Smith, who on his side does not mention Purcell, states that the Company's first expedition sailed early in 1628 with 112 colonists who all arrived safely.[2] The evidence is obviously convergent. Following Figueira again, we learn that the adventurers reached the island of Tocujos in April 1628.[3] There they built a rectangular fort with an outer wall fifteen spans thick and twelve high, surmounted by a wooden palisade, encircled by a ditch twenty spans deep, and armed with a great gun and four smaller pieces. Having provided for their defence, they settled down to

[1] Relation of the Jesuit Luis Figueira, 1631. Real Academia de la Historia, Papeles de Jesuitas, t. 109, ff. 71–2, printed in full in Espada's *Teixeira*, pp. 122–31. [2] *True Travels*, ii, p. 188.

[3] We are here confronted with an uncertainty due to the vague use of the word Tocujos: for Berredo (pp. 254–5) states that the fort was named Torrego. This, if identical with the Taurege of 1623, would be not on the island but on the continental western shore of the Amazon. Whether Torrego and Taurege were the same it is impossible to say; but it would obviously have been desirable to settle on the site of a previous post where entrenchments would exist and fields for plantation would be ready cleared. The Irish of Taurege may have fallen in Teixeira's raid of 1625.

plant tobacco, and to trade with the Indians, assisted by the fact that they had among them some of the old planters, who knew the language.

At the beginning of 1629 Manoel de Sousa de Sáa, the Governor of Pará, received news of what was going on, and in June sent Captain Pedro da Costa with a force of Portuguese and Indians to expel the intruders. The latter had meanwhile been receiving reinforcements. Smith says three other ships followed the first, carrying amongst others a party of English and Irish from Holland. This may account for the fact that Figueira describes the fort as tenanted by Dutchmen. They were evidently a cosmopolitan crew, including some Scots amongst their number. Da Costa found himself too weak to take the fort, and retreated to Fort Mariocay in the Curupá, where Teixeira joined him and took over the command. Teixeira now had over 1,700 men under his orders, conveyed in ninety-eight canoes. He began a regular siege on 26th September. It lasted with hard fighting until 24th October, when Purcell surrendered on terms, the conditions being that the lives of the garrison were to be spared, and that they were to retire to their own country with all their goods. The number of the defenders at this time was about eighty.[1] The favourable ending of the affair was due to

[1] Figueira, *ut sup.*, the most detailed account; Berredo, pp. 254–6; Southey's *Brazil* (following Berredo), vol. i, p. 461. Edmundson's 'Dutch on the Amazon' (*Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xviii, pp. 661–2) collates this Portuguese evidence. In addition there is a corroborative account in the printed Brazilian collection of documents already cited: 'Informação de D. Diogo de Castro sobre cousas do Maranhão dada em Lisboa a 12 de Novembro de 1630' (pp. 189–93). This states that the invaders were entrenched in a branch of the river called Tuquyn, that Teixeira began the siege on 28 September, and that in addition to Purcell there was

the fact that the besieged expected relief to appear from the sea at any moment. Teixeira was aware of this, and eager to get possession of the fort in time. If the besieged had held out longer they would have been exposed to the usual massacre when the place fell.

In the meantime the Company's energies had operated in a different direction, not with the consent of the managing council. In November 1628 that body appointed Robert Harcourt governor of the Company's possessions overseas, and dispatched him for the Amazon in the ship *Little Hopewell* of London. With him went Robert Hayman of Bristol, formerly governor of the English colony in Newfoundland, Sir Oliver Cheyney, Cornelius Conquest, and Thomas Nevynson, all of whom were shareholders, and about a hundred other persons. Their instructions, as we have said, were to land in the Amazon to reinforce Purcell's party at Tocujos; but Robert Harcourt, owing to his past exploits, had a predilection for the Wiapoco. Accordingly he led the expedition to that river, arriving on 17th February 1629 and establishing a plantation without troubling himself about the Amazon undertaking. To this breach of orders Harcourt seems to have persuaded the rest of his party without difficulty. However desirable the Amazon delta may have appeared from the commercial standpoint, it was by no means a bed of roses for the pioneers who sought to establish themselves in it; and the Wiapoco, although unhealthy and not so profitable, had the merit of being safe from Portuguese aggression.[1]

another leader called 'Mortoni'. The latter cannot be identified from the English side.

[1] There are two independent authorities for these transactions—the Corporation of Southampton's Book of Examinations,

News of these proceedings reached England in the summer of 1629, and the dominant party in the Company prepared to take strong action to enforce obedience. William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, had become Governor after the murder of Buckingham,[1] but Roger North as Deputy-Governor exercised the real direction of affairs. By November the ship *Exchange* and other vessels were in readiness to sail, carrying a new governor for the overseas plantations. His orders were to supersede Harcourt and send him home, and to compel the majority of the Wiapoco settlers to transfer themselves to the Amazon, leaving only a small party in the former river. The settlers left in the Wiapoco were to be subject to the

Informations and Depositions, 1622–43, pp. 274–7, for permission to examine which I have to thank the Town Clerk, Sir Richard Linthorne; and the Rev. Richard Thornton's 'Happie Shipwrack', a MS. addressed to William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke—Ashmolean MSS., 749, No. 2, ff. 1–12. The former consists of statements made before the Mayor of Southampton in 1630 by Lewes Jackson and Jonathan Selman, two of the adventurers, concerning the deaths of Robert Hayman and others of their comrades. The latter is a contentious discourse, largely about the writer's personal grievances and the mistakes of the governing body, but throwing a good deal of incidental light upon the course of events. It is important as establishing the fact that Robert Harcourt went out to Guiana in 1628, and that he was at variance with the Amazon party in the Company, headed by North. That it was Robert Harcourt himself, and not another member of his family, is proved by the reference to the proceedings in the Wiapoco of 'Captaine Harcourt, whoe alone had most of these large Territories granted by Patent to him and his heires for ever and afterwards resigned them to bee animated by this noble Societie, but going to Wiapoco when hee was directed to the Amazones, hee hath offended the Companie' (f. 6). Several witnesses in an Admiralty case also speak of Harcourt as Governor at the Wiapoco (H. C. A., Examinations, No. 49, 7 Jan., 13 March, 21 June, &c., 1631).

[1] 'Happie Shipwrack', f. 1. Pembroke died suddenly on 10 April 1630.

government of the principal colony in the Amazon, and Sir Oliver Cheyney, William Clovell, and Thomas Hixson, all members of Harcourt's council, were to forfeit their appointments until such time as they should remove to the Amazon. In the event of the Wiapoco colonists refusing compliance they were to be starved into submission by the withholding of supplies, and the *Exchange* was merely to pay a visit to their river to convey the orders, but not to lade or discharge cargo there.[1]

The following resolution and letter of the Company embody the above policy:

'Octo: 26 [1629]

'It is ordered that such provisions as are sent to any of the Colony at Wiapoco shalbee kept at the Amazones till they come thether for them, or as they shalbee disposed unto them, accordinge to such orders and instructions, as are nowe sent by the Companie in the good shipp called the Exchange.'[2]

. . . . . .

[12th January 1630]. 'Wee the Governour and Companie of Noblemen & Gentlemen of England for the plantation of Guiana have receyved a letter from Mr. Thornton, And doe desire that hee proceede accordinge to the directions given him by Captaine North & Mr. Blennerhassett, Wee have intreated Capt. North to write to Capt. Smith to renewe the outward bound store of Aqua Vitae, which our passengers have spent, for other wantes of our Companie wee knowe none in particuler, Captaine Duppa being bound by Charterparte to provyde for our Companie all necessary victuals, & which hee hath nowe upon Mr. Thornton's letter taken order for. And if it shall happen that upon the landinge in the Amazones of our men nowe sent you shall fynd neither Sir Olyver Chyney, nor Mr. Willm. Clovell, nor Mr. Tho. Hixson nor others (other than Captaine Harcourt) formerly

[1] 'Happie Shipwrack', *passim* and especially the parts quoted below.

[2] Ibid., f. 4 b.

authorised for governement, wee doe hereby authorise you nowe sent (which shall arrive there) to choose one of your selves to bee President, & governe in all thinges accordinge to our former directions for governement, untill such time as Sr. Olyver Cheyney, Mr. Will[m]. Clovell, or Mr. Thomas Hixson, or some other formerly appointed by us for governement shall come thether, & assume the governement. Provyded that it shalbee in our power to revoke our authoritie hereby given at our pleasure; Given under the seale of one of the members of our Companie which wee nowe use for our Common Seale this 12 of January 1629.

'To Mr. Richard Thornton Clerke & all other of our men nowe transported in the good shipp called the Exchange bound for the Amazones.' [1]

A good deal had happened between 26th October and 12th January, the dates of the above documents. First, the new overseas governor (name not revealed) had found a pretext to resign his appointment and abandon the voyage. This left the Rev. Richard Thornton the most considerable person among the outgoing party. Thornton was a shareholder to the extent of £100, and was appointed to be chaplain in the Amazon settlement. He was also to be a member of the council overseas, but it was recognized that his cloth debarred him from acting as governor. The whole tone of his writing shows him to have been a partisan of Harcourt and an enemy of North, whose agents, he complains, were drawing trade goods from the Company's stock and bartering them on their master's private account. He pleads very earnestly for Harcourt to be left undisturbed at the Wiapoco, arguing the folly of uprooting a settled colony and hinting that Harcourt will forcibly resist supersession. He also states that the Treasurer, Sir Henry Spelman, is of the same opinion, and implies that the decisions of the North faction have been rushed

[1] 'Happie Shipwrack', ff. 7 b–8.

through the council without full consideration. The Company, we can see, was splitting into the two elements from which it had been combined, a Wiapoco enterprise under Harcourt, and an Amazon enterprise under North.

During these discussions the shipping remained in the Downs with Thornton on board, very much disgusted with the discomforts of sea life and with the lack of the consideration due to his clerical status. On receipt of the letter of 12th January he professed himself satisfied with the decisions on policy contained in it, but declared that his personal position had become intolerable owing to the disrespect shown to him by the ship's captain, lack of money, and the poorness of the victuals provided. Unless he received a redress of these grievances by the next post, he asked leave to quit the expedition. No answer arriving from the Company, he disembarked on 23rd January, and a few days later the ships sailed without him.[1]

With Thornton's retirement from active service our knowledge of the relations between the Company and Harcourt's colony abruptly terminates: none of the official documents in the Record Office contains the slightest reference to the schism revealed in the 'Happie Shipwrack'. Concerning the nature of the Wiapoco settlement we have a few details. It contained 100 or more colonists,[2] who had fortified themselves, cleared the

[1] 'Happie Shipwrack', ff. 8 b–10 b. The whole document is intended as a justification of the writer's action to his patron, Lord Pembroke. The grievances and opinions on policy are reiterated with great prolixity and interspersed with quotations from the classics.

[2] Southampton MS., *ut sup.*, p. 276, Selman's deposition. Thornton (f. 4 b) implies that there were considerably more than 100. Both give 17 Feb. 1629 as the date of arrival.

ground, and erected sugar-works.[1] The principal planters —shareholders and officials of the Company—owned individual estates upon whose produce they paid one-third of the profit to the Company, keeping the remainder for themselves. This arrangement applied also in the Amazon.[2] Among the estate owners on the Wiapoco were Robert Hayman, the ex-Governor of Newfoundland, and Sir Oliver Cheyney.[3] Much of the labour was performed by Indians, although one phrase implies that some of the white men were indentured servants according to the ordinary colonial practice of the seventeenth century. In addition to planting, the colony had a trading activity, carried on partly on the Company's account and partly as an individual investment: one of Thornton's complaints was that persons trading on their private stock were nevertheless obliged to pay one-third of the profits to the Company. One may imagine, however, that the grievance was more theoretical than real, for control of the settlers' bookkeeping would be no easy matter, especially when officials overseas, like Harcourt, were at variance with the governing body at home.

Concerning the trading on the Wiapoco we may quote an extract which, although wrapped in the jargon of a magistrate's clerk, throws a ray of light upon the realities of Guiana colonization in strong contrast with the optimistic prospectuses and official relations which form our main stock of evidence:

> 'And hee [Jonathan Selman] further sayth that hee became acquainted with the sayd Robert Hayman at the beginning of the said voyage, And that during theire stay at Wyapoko aforesaid, the said Robert

[1] 'Happie Shipwrack', f. 4 b. [2] Ibid., ff. 11–11 b.
[3] Southampton MS., Selman's deposition.

Hayman about the seventh of October last past [1629], and a servant of his called Thomas Duppa, with axes, bills, cassada yrons, strong waters and divers other comodityes went upp the river from his plantation called by the name of the Wast towne, unto the Narrack (being a people of that countrey, distant from the said plantation about twenty dayes journey) in a canoe of one Captain Load a chief Captaine of the Charibes in the rivere Wyapoko aforesaid, And this deponent saith that about the same tyme hee with Mr. Cornelius Conquest and one George Manwaring went from theire plantation which belonged to Sir Oliver Cheney Knt. being within a stones cast of the said Robert Hayman's house, with such comodityes as the said Robert Hayman carried with him, and went upp the same river in another canoe to the Narrack aforesaid and did here traffique with them likewise, And hee further saith that in November last past the said Robert Hayman having ended his traffique at the Narrack aforesaid departed thence with his servant in his canoe, purposing to return to his said plantation, And about xij houres after his departure, this deponent, the said Cornelius Conquest and George Manwaring departed likewise from the said Narrack in theire canoe and followed the said Robert Hayman with as much speed as they could, And hee further saith that by the way they overtook the canoe wherein the said Robert Hayman was carried and that the said Robert Hayman was dead about fyve or six houres before they came to him, And that the said Thomas Duppa the said Robert Hayman's servant then told this deponent that the said Robert Hayman dyed in the said canoe of a burning fever and of a fluxe, which this deponent verely beleeveth to be true ; And hee further saith that hee this deponent did then and there see the said Robert Hayman dead and did allso see the said Thomas Duppe with 3 or 4 of the Indians that rowed in the said canoe wherein the said Hayman was carried, digge his grave close by the water-side with paddles and cassada irons, and did burye him there.' [1]

[1] Southampton MS., Selman's deposition. Concerning the Narrack Indians de Laet gives the following note (*Histoire du*

The end of the Wiapoco colony is unrecorded. Besides Hayman, his partner Edward Allman, a merchant of Exeter, also died.[1] Jackson, Selman, and Thomas Nevynson quitted the Wiapoco in March 1630, in a pinnace named the *Guyana*, concerning which we shall have more to say on a later page. They returned to England by way of Barbados and St. Kitts,[2] leaving the settlement still occupied by the remainder of their comrades. When and in what circumstances the latter abandoned the place is unknown. Thornton evidently thought that the natives were dangerous. He gave that as an argument against reducing the size of the colony, and mentioned that sixty Dutchmen had been massacred there not long before.[3] The English settlers were already on bad terms with these savages. An eyewitness mentions casually that Sir Oliver Cheyney stabbed two of them in a scuffle, whereupon John Ellinger, master of the *Guyana*, finished them off; and

Nouveau Monde, Leyden, 1640, p. 577): 'Ceux de nostre nation font mention d'une autre nation de sauvages qu'ils nomment Nourakes, qui demeurent environ soixante lieuës au dessus l'emboucheure de la riviere de Wiapoco, lesquels cultivent force cotton, duquels ils font des Amackas ou licts pendans assés industrieusement, qu'ils vendent aux autres sauvages moins diligens qu'eux; ils recueillent aussi beaucoup d'Orellan [a dye-stuff]: ces sauvages jouïssent d'un aïr beaucoup plus sain que ceux qui demeurent pres du rivage. Il se trouve dans leur Province de certaines pierres, qui approchent en couleur des rubis, que nous nommons balais.'

[1] Southampton MS., Jackson's deposition.

[2] Ibid., Jackson and Selman.

[3] 'Happie Shipwrack', f. 4 b. De Laet, quoted by Edmundson (*E. H. R.*, xviii, pp. 659–60), gives an account of the deaths of these Dutchmen. They were about 45 in number, fugitives from the Amazon after Teixeira's raid of 1625. They reached the Wiapoco, but, quarrelling amongst themselves and dividing into separate groups, they were nearly all killed by the natives.

from the same source we learn that when Ellinger sailed for Barbados he took five Indians, captured in battle, and sold them as slaves to a planter of that island.[1] It will be noticed that in the extract quoted above from Selman's account, the natives are described as Caribs. In the earlier years of the century the inhabitants of the Wiapoco had been Arawaks, a more tractable race. The Caribs were treacherous and revengeful, and they were by this time incensed against the English on account of the massacre by which Warner and d'Esnambuc had cleared St. Kitts in 1625. From that date onward a war of extermination went on in the islands for over a century, until only a fragment of the Carib race was left. The Caribs of the mainland were in frequent communication with those of the islands, constantly migrating from place to place in their sea-going canoes; and it may well be that the Wiapoco colony ended in some scene of bloodshed, as did so many European plantations in the Antilles.

Robert Harcourt died in Guiana at the age of 57, on a date traditionally given as 20th May 1631,[2] but whether at the Wiapoco or at the Amazon settlements does not appear. As he seems to have had no intention of

[1] H. C. A., Examinations, No. 49, evidence of Wm. Smallbone, 13 March 1630(1).

[2] The date, so far as I can trace, first appears in a pedigree of the Harcourt family drawn by Joseph Edmondson, Mowbray Herald Extraordinary, and printed in *The Harcourt Papers*, ed. E. W. Harcourt, vol. i, p. 247. No authority for the statement is quoted. The same date is also given by the editor on p. 108 of the same volume, with the addition that Robert Harcourt was buried at Stanton Harcourt. It appears also on a modern monument in the Harcourt Chapel at that place. The Vicar, the Rev. C. W. Farrer, very kindly made search for an earlier reference, but was unable to find one, the parish registers for the period 1611–65 not being available.

quitting the Wiapoco, his death may very possibly have coincided with the violent end of the colony which we have conjectured. The following letter from his son to the Treasurer of the Company is evidence that his end came in Guiana and not in England:

> 'To my honoured friend Sir Henry Spelman, Knt., These, Worthy Sir, It will much concerne my brother S^r. Simon Harcourt at a triall which he shall have shortly at Stafford Sizes, to make good proofe of my father's death in Guiana. We have already to that purpose Captaine King his oath, who was there at the time of his death, but to strengthen that proofe, our request to you is that you would be pleased, to certifie under your hands to this bearer, Mr. Astley, what your selfe and the Companie have heard and doe verily believe, concerninge his death; and for this favour I shall ever be ready to acknowledge, and to my power to expresse my selfe,
>
> Your Servant at your Commande,
>
> Fr. Harcourt
>
> Mid. Temple, Feb. 27, 1632.'[1]

We return now to the attempts on the Amazon, to which the majority in the Company determined to direct its chief efforts. It will be remembered that James Purcell with the first batch of settlers, capitulated to Teixeira on 24th October 1629. He had done so on very

[1] Tanner MSS., 71, f. 154. The late Mr. N. Darnell Davis, who printed this letter in his paper on 'Early English Colonies in Trinidad', in *Timehri*, vol. x, p. 379, added somewhat unaccountably that the deceased was probably Michael Harcourt, younger brother of Robert. But Sir Simon was the son of Robert Harcourt; Sir Simon's brother is the writer of the letter; and the reference to 'my father' can only point to Robert. Mr. Davis seems not to have seen Thornton's 'Happie Shipwrack', which proves Robert Harcourt to have gone to Guiana in 1628, and he was probably misled by the statement in the *Dictionary of Nat. Biogr.* that Harcourt never returned to Guiana after 1609.

easy conditions, because a relief party was known to be on the way from England, and he must have thought himself lucky to escape with his life for the second time, especially as it may be presumed that he had given some kind of parole before securing his release in 1627. After taking possession of the fort, Teixeira had left a garrison there and had returned to Pará with his prisoners, who were to be released by the Portuguese from that place. He had only been gone two or three days when the new English party arrived with two ships, a pinnace, and some shallops.[1] They made a demonstration of landing at the captured fort, but after some exchange of shots with the garrison they drew off and established themselves on Tocujos at a point a little lower down the river.[2] Their new settlement went by the name of Pattacue or North's Fort.[3]

This expedition, which must have left England about the end of August 1629, numbered 200 men, and they expected a further 500 to follow shortly.[4] There was evidently a plan to carry the delta by weight of numbers, and this explains the deep annoyance of the majority in the Company at the defection of Harcourt and the Wiapoco party. Had Harcourt obeyed his orders he would have

[1] Figueira's account, *ut supra*. He says: 'Estes se affirma serem Ingreses, em companhia do Capitão Nort', which is as near as he gets to a recognition of the Guiana Company. This does not mean that North was with them in person. We know from Thornton's MS. that he was directing affairs in England at the close of 1629. There is, in fact, no evidence or probability that he was ever in the Amazon after 1620.

[2] Figueira's account.

[3] H. C. A., Examinations, No. 50, evidence of Henry Clovell, 18 Oct. 1633.

[4] Berredo, pp. 262–3: Figueira's narrative does not continue beyond this point.

saved Purcell's settlement from capture. English and Portuguese records relate the fortunes of the new colony at North's Fort, which must not be confused with the settlement planted by North in person in 1620. Its commanders were William Clovell and Thomas Hixson, who had removed from the Wiapoco to take over the direction of the venture. English witnesses represent that the Governor was Clovell, whilst the Portuguese describe him as one 'Thomas', a veteran of the Netherland wars, evidently meaning Hixson. These two officers were in the Amazon by the close of 1629, and had gone there before receiving the orders carried by the *Exchange*, which could not have reached them until March of the following year. They gained the goodwill of the Indian tribes, and stirred up a general revolt against the Portuguese. Some reinforcements reached them. The *Exchange* must have arrived safely in the river early in 1630, for we find her making another voyage later in the same year.[1] Another relief ship, the *Hopewell*, met with disaster. She ran upon a sand within sight of Cape North and capsized immediately, all her people being drowned except eleven, who made their way up to North's Fort in a boat.[2] After the lapse of a year Pará once more bestirred itself. Jacome Raimundo de Noronha, the new Captain of that fortress, moved to the attack of the settlement in January 1631. By prolonged and desperate fighting he gained the upper hand, and North's Fort was destroyed after most of its defenders had perished. Thomas Hixson was killed whilst trying to escape in a boat. William Clovell and a remnant laid down their arms on 1st March. Only

[1] H. C. A., *ut sup.*, evidence of Thos. Sherlocke, 12 Dec. 1632.

[2] H. C. A., *ut sup.*, evidence of Thos. Cliborne, Henry Clovell, and others.

Henry Clovell and five others succeeded in getting away, to live among the Indians until picked up by an English ship, six months later.[1]

So far, we have followed the ventures of the Guiana Company in its corporate capacity. All the expeditions hitherto recorded had been equipped out of the joint stock subscribed by all the members. But in the early seventeenth century the joint-stock company had not, in England, assumed its modern form. There was still a considerable admixture of the ideas and practice of the mediaeval regulated companies, wherein the members secured admittance to the privileges by paying a fee, and thereafter traded individually or in small syndicates, on their particular capital.[2] We have already seen that the Wiapoco planters were carrying on a private trade after reaching that colony in the Company's ships, and that the North faction were annoyed at this independent action. In 1629 North took a similar course in partnership with three other members of the Company, Sir Christopher Nevill, Sir Henry Mildmay, and John Lucas. Under the style of Sir Christopher Nevill & Co. they fitted out two ships, the *Amazons* and the *Sea Nymph*, to make a voyage to the Amazon on their private account. These vessels

[1] The English evidence for these proceedings is contained in H. C. A., Examns., No. 50, evidence of Henry Clovell, Roger Glover, and John Barker, 18 Oct. 1633. The Portuguese of Berredo, pp. 264–5, is in agreement, and gives fuller details of the fighting. Southey's *Brazil*, vol. i, p. 579, summarizes Berredo.

[2] For parallel features in the early organization of the East India Company see Sir W. W. Hunter's *British India*, vol. i, and Dr. W. R. Scott's *Joint-Stock Companies*, Cambridge, 1910, vol. ii. The enrolment of the members' names in the patent was a characteristic of regulated company practice. Permanence of membership was assumed, and the buying and selling of shares on the stock-market had not yet come into vogue.

arrived at the mouth of the river in September 1629, at the moment, had they known it, when Teixeira was commencing the siege of Purcell's plantation. They did not, however, reach the scene of action. The captain of the *Amazons* unwisely attempted to sail up the river by night, and ran his ship aground. The *Sea Nymph*, following her consort, also grounded, and was so damaged that she became a total loss. The *Amazons* was refloated, and stood by whilst the *Sea Nymph's* crew salved their cargo and conveyed it to the shore. There they handed over the goods to William Clovell and Thomas Hixson, and constructed the pinnace *Guyana* from materials obtained from the wreck. All this took a considerable time, for it was not until February 1630 that the *Guyana* was ready for sea. She and the *Amazons* then sailed together for the Wiapoco, and parted company in foul weather on the way. We hear nothing further of the *Amazons*, but the *Guyana* reached the Wiapoco as related earlier in this chapter.[1]

The facts above set forth rest on thoroughly credible evidence. So also do those concerning the Guiana Company's second expedition, which established North's Fort at the close of 1629. Yet it is puzzling that there is not the slightest mention of any communication between the two parties; for the settlers at North's Fort must have passed up the Amazon during the time when the crew of the *Sea Nymph* were building their pinnace. Again, it is curious that when the pinnace was ready, its occupants seem to have sailed away to the Wiapoco, instead of penetrating farther into the Amazon, whither they had originally been bound. But this may have been an omis-

[1] For the whole story see H. C. A., *ut sup.*, No. 49, evidence of Ison, Husfield, Trehearne, Barker, Jackson, and Parsons, 7 Jan.–23 June 1631.

sion on the part of the witnesses in the Admiralty Court: it must be remembered that they were not describing their experiences at large, but were giving answers to a series of questions on a definite point, the responsibility for the wreck of the *Sea Nymph*. On the whole it seems probable that the *Amazons* and the *Guyana* went up to North's Fort before going to the Wiapoco, and that it was there that they delivered their cargoes to Hixson and Clovell. At what date these two had come from the Wiapoco we do not know.

From this point the records of the Guiana Company become scanty, but it had evidently received blows from which it could not recover. The disasters to Purcell's plantation and North's Fort may or may not have involved its complete expulsion from the Amazon. We do not know, for example, what had become of the four English and Irish plantations which were flourishing in 1623, on and near the Taurege and the Okiari. The description by their French visitor in that year is the sole testimony to their existence. But two circumstances show that the Guiana Company was hard hit: it appealed (vainly) to Charles I for help; and other English adventurers began to trespass with government approval upon its territories. This decline is not surprising when we remember that its paid-up capital probably never exceeded £4,000.[1]

The appeal to the King is contained in an undated document endorsed 'Guiana. recd. frō Capt. Duppa', and conjecturally assigned by the editor of the *Colonial*

[1] The list of 'arrerages' on the subscriptions of the original members in 1629 shows a default of £2,030 out of a promised total of about £5,000 (Tanner MSS., 71, ff. 161–2). The members joining later were not so numerous, neither did they subscribe so large sums as did the original members.

Calendar to the year 1629.[1] Its more probable date is a year or two later. It is headed 'Inducements to bee propounded to his royall Majestie to take the proteccion of the Adventurers unto the river of the Amazones or Guiana in America and theire plantacion there'. Opening with a general statement that the enterprise should be worth at least £50,000 a year to the Crown for twenty-one years, to begin four years after the scheme shall have been taken up, the proposition goes on as follows: (i) The Crown to take the settlements under its protection—i. e. under the protection of the Royal Navy; (ii) the Crown to send out 3,000 men in four years at its own charge; (iii) 100 pieces of ordnance, with suitable supplies, to be provided for the arming of two good and sufficient forts; (iv) three ships and six whelps (light fighting craft) of the Navy to be assigned yearly to the service, two of the whelps remaining permanently in the Amazon to defend the plantations. The writer estimates the total cost of all the above measures as £48,000, being at the average rate of £16 per settler. The Virginia Company, about 1612, had worked on a basis of £12 10*s.* per settler, and the Pilgrim Fathers in 1620 had allowed £10. The higher cost in the Amazon was due to the increased necessities of defence against enemies.

This proposal, if it was officially authorized by the Company, was a confession of failure on its part. It was also a novelty in English colonial practice. There had never hitherto been a crown colony founded as such: Virginia had been taken over by the Crown after being planted and governed for seventeen years by a company. Every other English colony since acquired had been planted at the expense and risk either of a company, or of

[1] C. O. 1/5, No. 28; *Colonial Calendar*, 1574–1660, p. 101.

a single proprietor who was one of the King's subjects commissioned for that purpose. The time was hopelessly unfavourable for the present project. Charles I had quarrelled with his third parliament, and had determined henceforward to rule by the strength of the prerogative. Such a course involved a ruthless cutting down of expenditure and avoidance of foreign entanglements, and it was out of the question for the King to assume responsibility for an enterprise which would involve perpetual warfare with the Spanish monarchy. Nothing more was therefore heard of the proposal.

It was equally out of the question for the needy courtiers of the Guiana Company to raise the estimated sum. So far as we know, they ceased all active measures from 1631 onwards. Various other speculators stepped into the breach, and likewise failed. Their proceedings will be dealt with in the next chapter. The next mention of the Guiana Company occurs in 1635, when they were involved in an obscure dispute, to whose nature we have not the clue, with a certain Captain Bampfield. The latter claimed a large sum for services rendered, and the Company admitted liability for part of his demand, engaging to pay the money as soon as some defaulting subscribers could be induced to honour their signatures.[1] Bampfield seems to have pressed his claim on account of a revival of the Company's activities in 1635. A resolution of Archbishop Laud's Committee for Foreign Plantations in March of that year reads: 'Captain North to have his Patent againe upon condition that he & his company submitt to the order of the Commission both for Ecclesiastical & civil government, for which there is yet no provision

[1] Tanner MSS., 71, f. 160; C. O. 1/8, No. 60 and enclosure. The former gives the date as 1633, which seems to be an error for 1635.

in the patent: & likewise that they begin theire voyage by Midsommer next'. An entry of 7th April says: 'A difference in this company concerning moneyes. A subscription on both sides, but no money paid.'[1]

These scanty indications give little hint of the energy requisite for the task. Nevertheless the Company made a sufficient impression upon the Government to procure an order restraining an Irishman named William Gayner from making a voyage to the Amazon with some Dutch associates.[2] Gayner was a former servant of the Company whose qualities had made a good impression upon Captain North.[3] But he was suspect as a Roman Catholic, and also for his plan to reintroduce the Dutch into the Amazon. He was therefore ordered to abandon his intention. Some phrases used in the document imply that there were still English settlers in the delta and that the Company claimed jurisdiction over them.

It is not apparent that the revived activity of 1635 led to the dispatch of a new expedition; although it is unsafe to base any great certainty upon the silence of the records. From the foregoing narrative it will have been apparent that much went on in Guiana of which the story is partially or wholly lost. One more piece of positive evidence, however, may serve to mark the demise of the Guiana Company. On 16th April 1638 a merchant named George Griffith presented a petition to the King, setting forth his services and past expenses in the undertaking, praying for recognition, and asserting that 'the old Company does nothing therein'.[4] That is the last reference now traceable to the corporation founded with such hopeful prospects in 1626.

[1] C. O. 1/8, No. 51.
[2] C. O. 1/8, No. 89.
[3] *Hist. MSS. Commn., Cal. of Cowper MSS.*, vol. ii, p. 39.
[4] *Colonial Calendar, 1574–1660*, p. 270.

VI

OTHER GUIANA ENTERPRISES, 1629–45

Authorities. The evidence for this chapter exists in scattered fragments collected from various sources which are indicated in the footnotes.

THE undertakings with which this chapter has to deal are, so far as can be ascertained, independent of the operations of the Guiana Company. They appear also desultory and disconnected, but this may be due to the imperfection of the surviving records. A connected account, such as might have been written by a contemporary, would no doubt supply the clue to much that is obscure.

The first event to be recorded is the invasion of the Orinoco delta by a mixed Anglo-Dutch force in 1629. According to a Spanish official report [1] a squadron of nine English and Dutch ships entered the river in that year, sailed up to San Thome, and took it by force of numbers. The invaders burned the town, and then, having been joined by reinforcements, they planted settlements in the channels of the Orinoco and in the island of Tobago. They were on friendly terms with the Caribs, and were said to have discovered a quicksilver mine at the mouth of the river. Of the end of the Orinoco settlements thus planted we have no record, but the inference is that they did not last very long. The Dutch were active in Trinidad and Tobago in subsequent years, always without permanent

[1] Transcribed in Add. MSS., 36322, f. 133. (Marquis of Sofraga to the King, 8 July 1631.)

success. Don Juan de Eulate turned out a party of them from the latter place in 1636, and strangled sixty prisoners whom it was inconvenient to keep.[1] These operations were outside the limits of the Guiana Company's patent, which extended only to the Essequibo, and the Englishmen concerned were probably residents of the United Provinces.

The renewal of the war between Spain and the Dutch had rendered unsafe the transit of treasure by the ancient route from Peru across the Isthmus of Panama and thence through the Caribbean to Europe: in 1628 the entire silver fleet was taken by a Dutch squadron off the coast of Cuba. Accordingly we find mention of a project presented from time to time to the Spanish government for transporting the produce of the mines down the Amazon and thence by the galleons to Seville, a strongly fortified port being established in the delta of the river.[2] The suggestion never came to the stage of practice, but it doubtless contributed to the energy with which intruders were expelled from the delta.

The Irish adventurers considered that as Catholics they had some claim to the favour of Spain. Gaspar Chillan petitioned in 1631 for leave to re-establish his compatriots in the Amazon. He suggested in effect that the Irish would do good service by forming a barrier against Protestant intruders. But he prejudiced his chances by asserting that the countenance of the King of England would be necessary, and by admitting that he meant to employ a few Englishmen and Dutchmen as

[1] Add. MSS., 36324, f. 113, &c.

[2] Add. MSS., 13977, ff. 485–6 (1626); and again in 1641 as a result of Christoval de Acuña's voyage down the Amazon two years before (Add. MSS., 36326, ff. 144–52).

being more experienced at sea and in warfare.[1] The Council of the Indies considered the proposal, and recommended its rejection on account of the difficulty of distinguishing between Catholic and Protestant foreigners, and also because it would be out of the question to give the King of England a *locus standi* in South American affairs. It is difficult to judge whether Chillan was a simpleton or a cunning schemer with a foot in both camps. His idea that Spain might be induced to reverse an age-old principle of policy at the suit of a private individual argues a large ignorance of history. Of William Gayner, another Irish Catholic, and his plan for a Dutch-Irish settlement in the Amazon we have spoken in the previous chapter. Yet another projector of the same kind, one Peter Swetman or Sweetman,[2] came forward in 1643 after the revolt of Portugal and her colonies from Spain. He was in touch with the Catholic Irish of St. Kitts, who were in a state of unrest, and he proposed to bring 400 of them to plant in the Amazon. John IV of Portugal, taking into account the sparseness of population in the delta, gave him licence to occupy the island of Joanes in front of Pará. Whether the affair proceeded any further is unknown. The only subsequent reference to it is in a memorial of the following year, wherein a colonial official brings forward all the old arguments to urge the King to rescind the grant.[3] The full story of the Irish adventurers in South America at this period is one of the lost passages in colonial history. Here

[1] Add. MSS., 36322, f. 165, and 36326, f. 144, &c.

[2] The name is variously given in Portuguese documents as Sotman, Setman, and Suetman: the latter form suggests that the correct spelling should be as above.

[3] Add. MSS., 37042, ff. 17–38 (transcripts from Portuguese archives).

we have been able to give only such hints and fragments as remain.[1]

More certain information is available concerning the doings of some English trespassers upon the claims of the Guiana Company. The first of these was a merchant named Roger Glover, who sailed to the Amazon in the ship *Marmaduke* in 1631. He arrived at the end of July, and picked up the six English survivors of the fall of North's Fort. What further fortune he had is unknown, except that he returned to England in safety.[2] Another ship, the *Amity*, the name of whose owner does not appear, reached the Amazon in December 1631, and returned by way of the Leeward Islands.[3]

A more prominent adventurer was Thomas Howard, Earl of Berkshire. The first hint of his undertaking occurs in May 1631, when Captain Roger Fry went over to Dunkirk and bought a Flemish-built ship of 160 tons on behalf of the Earl and his partners, of whom one was a gentleman named John Day. This vessel they renamed the *Bark Andevor*.[4] Next we have a resolution of the Privy Council dated 22nd July 1631. It states that the Earl has

[1] In Jean-Baptiste Du Tertre's *Histoire générale des Antilles*, Paris, 1667, vol. i, pp. 155–6, there is a report of an agreement between England and Spain in 1639 that a large Irish force should go in 18 ships to turn the Dutch out of Pernambuco, in return for which the Spaniards would assist in expelling the French from St. Kitts and planting Irishmen in their places. The plan came to nothing.

[2] H. C. A., *ut sup.*, No. 50, evidence of Roger Glover and John Barker, 18 Oct. 1633.

[3] Ibid., evidence of Thos. Harman, Francis Young, and others, 18 Oct. 1633; 23, 31 Jan. 1634.

[4] Ibid., evidence of John Day, 20 Feb. 1632(3). 'Andevor' stands for 'Andover': Berkshire had been Lord Andover before his promotion to the earldom in 1626.

already 'bestowed great costes in making a Plantation in the Southerne Continent of America', and is therefore granted licence to buy and export for that service no less than fifty pieces of ordnance of various calibres.[1] From Portuguese sources we learn that he sent out a first party of settlers under Captain Fry (Berredo names him Roger Fray), who established himself at a place called Fort Cumau in the region of Tocujos, already the scene of so many attempts.[2]

Whilst this settlement appeared to be prospering, the Earl set about the formation of a company to carry on the work. In the first part of 1632 he published his prospectus in the form of a pamphlet entitled *A Publication of Guiana's Plantation newly undertaken by the Right Honble. the Earle of Barkshire . . . and Company for that most famous River of the Amazons in America*, written by one who signed himself 'I. D.'—presumably the John Day already mentioned.[3] In this work the writer maintains a vagueness regarding the site of the colony, and makes no reference to the Guiana Company and its achievements: the present venture was evidently a rival undertaking. The Earl's proceedings and intentions are set forth as follows:

> 'For the preservation of the plantation, wee have not only sent divers honest and able men (marren and other) but also some peeces of great ordnance, with amunition, and other materials very usefull towards building of a fort, for the better securing of our planters persons from the danger of an enemy, having moreover

[1] *A.P.C., Colonial*, vol. i, No. 277.

[2] Berredo, pp. 268–9.

[3] Brit. Museum, 1061, g. 13. The book was entered in the Stationers' Register on 24 May 1632 (Arber's *Transcript*, vol. iv, p. 244).

caused a pinnace to bee sent to abide with the Colony in the river for their better safetie and trade in the country; intending likewise this summer (if God shall be pleased) to sett out a new supply of more men (as artificers and others) besides women, as also more ordnance, amunition and other materials, fitting for the defence of the plantation, besides another shipp, greater then the former, to stay and abide there together with the Colony in the river, for their better defence and trade in the country aforesaid: in which supply I also purpose (God willing) to goe with my wife and friends, to inhabit some part of that spacious and goodly countrie.' [1]

The prospectus goes on to announce that the colony and Company are to consist of: (i) personal adventurers, investing at least £50 and going in person to the Amazon; (ii) purse adventurers, investing but not emigrating; (iii) servants, going out on indenture for a term of years, but not investing. The tone of the document is semi-religious, with many citations of the Scriptures and an insistence upon the good work of converting the heathen. It touches very lightly upon the danger from the Portuguese, and it seems to verge upon fraudulence in omitting all mention of the tragic events which, as we shall show, had been happening in Tocujos in 1631, if indeed they were known to the writer in the following year.[2] The general inference to be drawn is that the Earl had begun the undertaking as a private enterprise, and only appealed for the support of the general investor when his own funds began to fail. We have no evidence that his proposed company ever came into being.

Returning to the fortunes of the advance party in the Tocujos region: they appear to have established them-

[1] *Publication of Guiana's Plantation*, p. 16.

[2] The point is doubtful, as will appear below.

selves at Fort Cumau or Cumahu in the summer of 1631.[1] The place was close to the two settlements already planted and lost by the Guiana Company, and so may have been on the island of Tocujos or on the mainland opposite. It was armed with four or five guns, and its occupants began planting tobacco and sugar in alliance with the natives.[2] At Pará the challenge provoked an instant response. Jacome Raymundo de Noronha and Feliciano Coelho, son of the Governor of the province of Maranhão, collected their forces and moved to the attack. Before the end of the year they stormed Fort Cumau, killing eighty-six of its defenders, including Roger Fry, and taking only thirteen prisoners, of whom some died of their wounds. Then they carried out a massacre of the Indian allies of the English, which was so effective that the latter never again received any support from the natives of the country.[3]

The few English survivors of the disaster had stated that they expected a large reinforcement from London. This party arrived in the following year, 1632, in a ship and two pinnaces. Four of its members, being captured by the Portuguese, admitted that they were sent by the

[1] Berredo, pp. 268–9, says 1632, but it seems that he was a year out in his chronology. Against his statement we have: (i) the reference already cited of July 1631, in *Acts of the Privy Council*, to the effect that the Earl of Berkshire has already equipped an expedition; (ii) the statements of Jacome Raymundo de Noronha and João Pereira de Caceres, made in 1637, printed in *Documentos . . . Brasil*, pp. 260–1; (iii) another statement by Raymundo de Noronha, undated, in the same collection, p. 275. Both the latter sources say 1631. It is on Berredo's authority as well as that of the Admiralty documents that we know that Roger Fry's party was sent out by the Earl of Berkshire ('Thomás, Conde de Brechier', p. 270).

[2] Raymundo and Pereira, *ut sup.*

[3] Berredo, pp. 268–9; Raymundo and Pereira, *ut sup.*

Earl of Berkshire, and further, that a great expedition was preparing at Flushing under the auspices of the Dutch government, for a new attempt to conquer the Amazon.[1] It does not appear that this Dutch armament had any connexion with Berkshire's Company or that it ever set sail. The new English party found Fort Cumau a deserted ruin, and were so discouraged that they decided to leave only forty men with one pinnace to occupy the site, the remainder with the other two vessels departing forthwith.[2] The effects of the Portuguese severity towards the natives were now evident. None of the tribes dared to go near the Englishmen, and the latter, for the first time in the history of these expeditions, were ruined by starvation. At the end of two months, twenty-eight of the forty were dead of hunger. The remainder, with their captain and the pinnace, voluntarily gave themselves up to the Portuguese.[3]

One last reference closes the record of these attempts upon the Amazon delta. On 22nd June 1633 Lord Cottington wrote as follows to Sir John Coke:

'The ship belonging to my Lord Goring his company

[1] Berredo, p. 270.

[2] Raymundo's and Pereira's accounts, *ut sup.* This agrees with the statement in Berkshire's prospectus, quoted above, that a pinnace had been ordered to stay at the settlement. It is possible that the 1632 expedition in leaving only forty men was acting upon orders framed on the assumption that Fry's party was still intact. The large ship may have been intended to take home cargoes collected by the latter.

[3] Ibid. In Add. MSS., 37042, f. 36 (transcripts from Portuguese archives), in the course of a summary of the events of the period there occurs the following undated statement which may possibly bear reference to the above transaction: 'Filiciano Coelho tomou ali hum navio de inglezes, e nelles achou hum que levava patente del Rey de Inglaterra em que o nomeava por Governador daquelle estado do Maranhão.'

for a plantation in the River of Amazons is returned, and the men report that eight of their best men being betrayed ashore were killed by the savages, and their boats taken; so as they returned without going so high as their fort, which they conceive is also taken, and the men murdered: for so they heard it reported, and did choose rather to believe it than to go and see. Captain Quayle (my lord Treasurer's favourite) is dead, but these men of Mocapo (my Lord Goring's) say they were aboard that ship at the Barbadoes, where she came infinite rich, and will be here shortly, and that Quayle's company told them my Lord Denbigh is coming home in the James.' [1]

Was this company of Lord Goring's a venture independent of the Earl of Berkshire? It seems unlikely, in view of the fact that the latter's fort at Cumau had been finally abandoned in 1632, and that the story of its fall accords, allowing for perversion by native intelligencers, with that picked up by Goring's men in the following year and related of 'their' fort. The probable interpretation is that Berkshire had come to the end of his resources, had failed to attract investors, and had turned over the business to Goring. 'Mocapo' may be an English metathesis of the Indian name given by the Portuguese as Cumahu. The reference to Captain Quayle is obscure. Lord Denbigh had nothing to do with Guiana: he was on his way home from India in 1633.

From this point onwards the Portuguese writers are silent regarding English intruders into the delta, and their silence gives ground for presuming, in default of other evidence, that such enterprises ceased. The Guiana Company, as we have seen, promised renewed activity in 1635, but nothing is known to have come of it. The Portuguese, in fact, under a series of energetic commanders,

[1] *Hist. MSS. Commn., Cowper MSS.*, vol. ii, pp. 21–2.

had proved themselves able to hold the Amazon against the English method of colonization by private enterprise, which, however successful for peaceful expansion, was unsuited for conquest. The outstanding feature of the Portuguese plan should be noted: they made no attempt to occupy the ramifications of the delta, but concentrated their strength at Pará in readiness to move upon any threatened point. In the actual circumstances they were very successful, but if the English government had chosen to send out an expedition strong enough to take Pará the whole of the Amazon would have changed hands at a blow. It is strange that the Dutch, who took Pernambuco and north-eastern Brazil and held them for many years, did not attempt some such stroke themselves.

At some date not known with precision, but in the neighbourhood of 1630, a settlement was attempted on the banks of the great Tapajos tributary which joins the Amazon from the south at a point 200 miles above the head of the delta. Two Franciscan friars, going down the Amazon in 1637, related that the natives of that region were in possession of muskets, pistols, and linen shirts, which they had obtained by the massacre of a party of Dutchmen who had come to plant there.[1] Christoval de Acuña, descending the great river from Peru in 1639, heard the same story, but stated that the planters were English. His account goes more into detail:

> 'Returning, however, to the subject of the Tapajosos, and to the famous river which bathes the shores of their country; I must relate that it is of such depth, from the mouth to a distance of many leagues, that in times past an English ship of great burden ascended it, those people intending to make a settlement in this province,

[1] Jimenez de la Espada, *Viaje del Capitán Pedro Texeira*, p. 86.

and to prepare harvests of tobacco. They offered the natives advantageous terms, but the latter suddenly attacked the English, and would accept no other than the killing of all the strangers they could get into their hands, and the seizure of their arms, which they retain to this day. They forced them to depart from the land much quicker than they had come, the people who remained in the ship declining another similar encounter (which would have destroyed them all), by making sail.'[1]

Here we have two witnesses with equal opportunities of hearing the truth, the one saying that the colony was English, and the other Dutch. Probably their Indian informants did not know the nationality of the intruders, merely describing them as of blue eyes and fair complexions, or in some such manner.[2] Another authority, however, the Comte de Pagan, states that they were English. Speaking of the Tapajos, he says: 'About the year 1630 the English ascended its broad channel with a ship, landed on its banks, and stayed there some time to sow and reap tobacco: but being chased out with loss by the Indians, they retired without their harvest.'[3] This would be strong support for the English interpretation if only we could be certain that Pagan wrote from independent information, and was not merely copying Acuña. His precision about the date suggests the former, and his other details the latter view. Very few copies of Acuña's work came into circulation, for the Spanish government

[1] Hakluyt Society, *Acuña's New Discovery of the Amazons, 1639*, edited by Sir C. R. Markham, 1859, p. 127.

[2] The friars were not directly informed by the Indians that the colonists were Dutch; that addition to the story came through the Portuguese at Pará, who had heard of the adventure.

[3] Le Comte de Pagan, *Relation . . . de la grande riviere des Amazones*, Paris, 1655, p. 99. The English translation by William Hamilton, London, 1661, is inaccurate.

attempted to destroy them all for strategic reasons when Portugal revolted in 1640. A single copy got into the hands of a French translator in 1682, and he alleged that only one other was known to exist. This makes plagiarism by Pagan improbable. Finally, we may quote some passages from an English document of approximate date 1640, which has some bearing on the subject:[1]

'A short discription of a rich plantation called the Tapoywasooze & the Towyse-yarrowes Countryes lying upon the Coasts of Guiana from the west Indies distant eastwards 350 leagues, discovered by Captaine William Clovell and Thomas Tyndall.

'The said plantacion is distant from the silver myne 60 leagues, and easie to be possessed and kept, by reason all the Natives of the Countrie are our friends and the discoverers have learnt their language.

'This plantacion is 80 leagues from the golden river west south west up in to the lands. [Then follows a long account of commodities and a suggestion for an expedition of 100 men at a cost of £10,000, to be recouped twofold within a year.] This plantacion is distant from the Island called Margaretta 350 leagues, being the neerest plantacion the Spanyard hath there. But the Portugall hath a plantacion within 160 leagues of the discoverie, peopled with 150 persons . . . Thomas Tyndall one of these discoverers hath gone master these 24 yeares of shippes both in his Majesties service and for merchants, and hath bene compelled by reason of his judgement and experience to be Pilott for the king of Spayne in all partes of the west Indies & in the golden river for many yeares, and hath certificates under the hand of Sir Arthure Hopton now Lord Ambassador for his Majestie in Spayne importing the said Tyndalls abilityes and wrongs suffred by the Spanyards.'

The above extracts include all the parts of the docu-

[1] C. O. 1/10, No. 81. The date cannot be before 1638 when Sir A. Hopton, mentioned as 'now' ambassador in Spain, took up that office.

ment having any bearing upon locality. The distances are evidently approximations and must not be read too literally. 'Tapoywasooze' may reasonably be taken as a version of Tapajos, another established form of which name was Tapaÿse or Tapaÿsus. The river is navigable for large vessels to a point 188 miles from its confluence with the Amazon.[1] The references to 'the golden river' are not easy to interpret. Teixeira's men on their passage up the Amazon in 1637 bestowed the name Rio do Ouro upon a tributary which entered the main stream at a point evidently far above the Tapajos confluence.[2] Tyndall may, as a captive, have been a member of this expedition. On the other hand, it is possible that another watercourse, perhaps in the neighbourhood of the delta, may have been locally known as the Golden River: the allusion is so vague that it does not help us much. On the whole we may conclude that Tyndall's document contributes towards the solution of the problem of the Tapajos colony, as showing that Englishmen had been in that river; and that the balance of all the evidence points to the colony having been an English undertaking.[3] Whether it proceeded from the Guiana Company or from the independent adventurers we have not sufficient information to decide. The details of the story are not inconsistent with those concerning Lord Goring's expedition, although there is not a shred of positive evidence to connect the two. William Clovell was in the Guiana

[1] *Geographical Journal*, vol. xvii, p. 373.

[2] Add. MSS., 37042, ff. 30–4.

[3] Dr. Edmundson is of the contrary opinion, which, however, he bases only on the evidence of the Franciscans and Acuña. He identifies, tentatively, this enterprise with the voyage of Pieter Adriaansz in 1623 (*English Hist. Review*, vol. xviii, pp. 654–6).

Company's service in 1628–9, but may have left it at a later date.

Our narrative of the dimly-known early series of Guiana undertakings now draws to its close. Only one more remains to be recorded, and that rests upon the sole evidence of Colonel Scott. In his 'Description of Tobago'[1] Scott asserts that one Captain Marshall led an expedition from Barbados to Tobago in 1642 under the patronage of the Earl of Warwick, who had acquired large interests in the West Indies. Marshall began to plant at Tobago, but was harried out by the Caribs in the following year, and then went off to try his fortune in Guiana. In another part of his manuscript[2] Scott gives a brief account of the Guiana enterprise: 'The elleaventh Collonie was one Mr. Marshall with 300 Families of English imployed by the Earle of Warwick &c., who settled Suranam, Suramarca & Curanteen Anno 1643, lived peaceably untill the yeare 1645, at which time they espoused the Quarrell of the French and were cut of by the natives.' He has previously recorded that the French had planted a large colony in these rivers as early as 1639, but that they offended the natives, grew careless, and were all massacred in a single day. His remarks about Marshall imply that the English suffered the same fate. This is the earliest known instance of an English colony in the central sector of the Guiana coast. If the phrase about the three hundred families is to be taken literally, it must have been on a larger scale than any other of these undertakings. Scott, as we have shown, drew his information from Dutchmen whose acquaintance he made during the campaigns of 1665–7. It is not surprising that the English state papers

[1] Sloane MSS., 3662, f. 48. [2] Ibid., f. 40 b.

contain no reference to Marshall's colony, for the archives fell into confusion during the Civil War, and the greater part of the colonial documents for that period are lost.

We may now draw some general conclusions from the series of undertakings with which we have dealt in the preceding chapters: for the Surinam colony yet to be considered falls into a different category as regards both its origin, development, and fall.

Looking back over the course of events, it is possible to recognize that as an outlet for English ambitions Guiana declined in relative importance between the beginning and the middle of the seventeenth century. At the outset, it had appeared on a level with Virginia in its prospective advantages. Each was equally accessible from England; each promised exotic merchandise and a possibility of treasure; and if some of the Guiana rivers were unhealthy, the mortality amongst their colonists never approached that of the unhappy Virginians in the first twenty years of their experience. In 1604, and even as late as 1611, a contemporary might well have predicted that Guiana was the destined chief sphere of English colonization. Then North America drew ahead in favour. The reasons that it did so are worth examining.

Perhaps the chief of all lay in the greater proximity of Spanish and Portuguese possessions to Guiana than to Virginia. To the latter country the English had a good right by discovery and occupation, and Spain never offered more than a theoretical opposition to that right. Time and again the Spaniards and their Portuguese vassals fell upon English colonies in South America and the West Indies, but never upon Virginia or any colony to the north of it. The monopoly for which Spain would

effectively fight was not that of the whole new world, but that of Central and South America and the adjoining islands. This had its effect upon English activities. The more responsible leaders of expansion, the statesmen and patrons of commerce, turned instinctively to North America, which received the support of all that was most sober and disinterested in the movement. On a lower scale, determined but unprincipled, came the noble proprietors of the lesser Caribbean islands—the Pembrokes, Carlisles, and Warwicks, usually figure-heads masking the operations of less distinguished mercantile backers. Lowest in potential resources came the Guiana projectors, often patriotic and enthusiastic, but lacking the business acumen and the staying-power which would have come from the co-operation of the City interest. The latter held aloof, undoubtedly because the military peril rendered the investment precarious. That peril was less grave for Barbados and the Leeward Islands, since geographical conditions rendered them immune to attack by the local Spanish forces, and they were not so likely to be assailed by fleets direct from Europe.[1] Here then is the reason why it was left for the courtiers and lesser gentry to be the main element in the Guiana enterprise, and also why they usually lost their money in it.

A turning-point was an occurrence which has received only a passing mention in our narrative—the decision of the Pilgrim Fathers to go to New England instead of Guiana in 1620. Its motive was that described above;

[1] The Leeward group were to windward of the Spanish Antilles and were in fact classified by the Spaniards as among the Windward Islands. They were raided once only, in 1629, by a Spanish force. Association and Providence, deeper in the Spanish sphere, were permanently lost in 1635 and 1641 respectively.

and it tipped the scale decisively in favour of North America, for the weight of the Puritan movement followed it. We are accustomed to regard the Puritans as inevitably the colonists of New England: they did not so regard themselves. Many of them were quite ready to adventure in the tropics, as the history of the Providence Company demonstrates. But for the Pilgrims' decision and success, all the founders of Massachusetts and her sister states might have sailed to a different destiny in the south.

Lastly, we must take into account the early method of English expansion. Until 1649 it was exclusively that of private enterprise, with or without state recognition, but always without state expenditure. The colonists had to establish themselves and defend themselves, and if they failed, the Government showed no sympathy to the extent of a single ship or regiment. In empty continents and empty islands, or against merely savage foes, the system worked well, bringing in its train liberty such as no other colonists have enjoyed. But against the armed might of the Spanish monarchy it failed. The Puritan company lost Providence and Association, unprotected by the trade-wind which placed Barbados beyond attack. The Portuguese of Brazil cleared the Amazon delta so effectively that the very memory of the English there has been wellnigh lost. Jamaica, our only permanent foothold in the central Caribbean, dates from the Protector's expedition of 1655; British Guiana, our only possession in South America, from the Napoleonic wars. In both cases the force of the state succeeded where the earlier private enterprise had failed. The dividing line between the two systems coincides with the fall of Charles I and the adoption of a positive colonial policy by the statesmen of the Interregnum and the Restoration.

VII

SURINAM, 1651–68

Authorities. Amongst the colonial papers at the Record Office there are a few relating to Surinam before 1660, and a much larger number for the period from 1660 onwards. In most cases the *Calendars* give an adequate rendering of the contents of documents, and recourse to the originals is unnecessary. Additional evidence of the same sort occurs in the *Domestic Calendars*; *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, vol. i; and the *Thurloe State Papers*. Various *Reports* of the Historical MSS. Commission contain references to Surinam, and some very useful information is to be gleaned from the *Publications* of the American Jewish Historica Society, whose members describe ancient Jewish documents preserved at Paramaribo.

The record of the colony is enriched by a number of contemporary writings. Colonel Scott gives a brief history in Sloane MSS., 3662, which must, however, be used with caution. William Byam, the Governor, wrote *A Narrative of the late troubles in Surinam*, 1661 (or more probably early in 1662); *An Exact Relation of the most execrable Attempts . . . on Francis, Lord Willoughby*, London, 1665; and 'A Journall of Guiana from 1665 to 1667'. The latter was not printed, and exists only in a transcript by Scott in Sloane MSS., 3662, ff. 27–37. It has been hinted that Scott concocted this account for his own glorification,[1] but of this there is no evidence, and the style of the composition is not characteristic of his work. Other contemporary pamphlets are *Surinam Justice*, by Robert Sanford, London, 1662; and *An Impartial Description of Surinam*, by George Warren, London, 1667. One or two facts not elsewhere recorded are to be found in a missionary tract whose title is worth reproducing in full: *A Seasonable Proposition of Propagating the Gospel by Christian Colonies in the Continent of Guiana, by John Oxenbridge, a silly worme, too inconsiderable for so great a Work, and therefore needs and desires acceptance and assistance from Above*. The date is not given, but it seems to be prior to 1667. A good French authority for the fighting at Cayenne and Sinamari

[1] Prof. W. C. Abbott, *'Colonel' John Scott of Long Island*, New Haven, 1918, p. 40.

is J. Clodoré, *Relation de ce qui s'est passé dans les Isles & Terre-Ferme de l'Amérique*, 2 vols., Paris, 1671. Clodoré was present at some of the events he describes.

Finally, Surinam is the scene of action of the first novel written by a woman in English. Mrs. Aphra Behn was the daughter of John Johnson, a barber. She went to Surinam with a relative and spent some years there, returning to marry a Dutchman resident in London. Her romance, *Oroonoko: or, the Royal Slave* (modern edition, London, 1886), is a genuine authority for the social life of the colony, although its judgements upon persons are coloured to suit the plot of the story.

(i) *Foundation and Early Years*, 1651–60

THE colony of Surinam differs in many respects from those whose history is related in the earlier chapters of this volume. In the first place, it was a colony planted by experienced colonists, not by raw adventurers from home. Its pioneers, trained to their task in Barbados, knew their business, and quickly made the undertaking a success. The early success attracted capitalists. Rich men took plantations and filled them with negro slaves; and royalist exiles, during the first ten years, found in Surinam an overlooked corner of the empire in which they might hold what opinions they would, and still live under their own flag. After the Restoration Surinam became a full-fledged proprietary colony, its chief owner high in favour and in office, its population increasing and prosperous, and all things promising a future such as no Guiana colony had come within measurable distance of before. Then fate smote it, as it had smitten every other venture in this record. War with the Dutch broke out in 1665, and with the French in 1666, the first purely colonial struggle in English history. The colony conquered its neighbours, was conquered in turn by a fleet from Europe, and was retaken too late by the English, for the treaty had already

been signed which transferred it to the Dutch empire, of which it forms a part to the present time. Nevertheless, although reduced by war, pestilence, and desertion, Surinam survived, the one permanent monument to all the English labour and sacrifice in South America in the seventeenth century. It may well be that on the banks of the Surinam river there are dwelling to-day, at least among the Jewish population, men whose ancestors marked out plantations when Francis, Lord Willoughby of Parham, was Lord Proprietor of the province.

In 1650 Barbados, after ten years of sugar-planting, had reached a great height of prosperity. Its produce commanded high prices in the European markets, its trade was as yet unrestricted by navigation acts, and its fortunate landowners imported in growing numbers white servants from the mother-country and black slaves from Africa. At the same time a social change began to manifest itself: whilst the wealth of the island increased, the number of its free inhabitants tended to diminish. The more able planters absorbed the holdings of their competitors, and the process, once set in motion, continued automatically, for the large slave-worked estate was economically more efficient than the small. Amongst the planter class Barbados therefore had a surplus population accentuated by the arrival of cavalier exiles, some with the substantial wreckage of their fortunes, after the downfall of the King's cause in the Civil War. In the class of poorer freemen there was also a surplus, owing to the termination of the indentures of white servants for whom, as there was no more vacant land, there was no suitable employment. These circumstances rendered Barbados ripe to throw off bands of pioneers into untrodden lands, and in the middle decades of the seventeenth century she

played a conspicuous part as a mother of new plantations.

Francis, Lord Willoughby, one of the royalist exiles referred to, obtained in 1647 a twenty-one years' lease of the proprietary rights of the Earl of Carlisle over the Caribbee Islands. In 1650 he arrived in Barbados in pursuit of this business, and soon afterwards sent a ship to reconnoitre the Guiana coast. His emissaries having been well received by the Caribs of the Surinam river, a party of a hundred Barbadians went in the latter part of 1651 to colonize under the command of Major Anthony Rowse. The circumstances are detailed in a letter from Willoughby to his wife, written on 9th August 1651:

> 'I have had a return of my discovery of Guiana, which I writ to you formerly of; and the gentleman which I sent hath brought with him to me two of the Indian kings, having spoke with divers of them, who are all willing to receive our nation, and that we shall settle amongst them; for which end I am sending hence a hundred men to take possession, and doubt not but in a few years to have many thousands there . . . They were out almost five months; and amongst forty persons not one of them had so much as their head ache.' [1]

The date of the above letter enables us to assign 1651, instead of the commonly received 1650, as the true date of the planting of Surinam.

[1] Tanner MSS., 54, f. 147, printed in H. Cary's *Monuments of the Great Civil War*, London, 1842, p. 312. See also Col. Thos. Modyford to Bradshaw, 1652, 16 Feb., 'a short history of that unfortunate Lord Willoughby's actings', in *Colonial Calendar, 1574–1660*, p. 373. The recital of Willoughby's claim to a proprietary grant, 1663, 6 May (*Colonial Cal., 1661–8*, No. 451), corroborates the main facts, as does also John Oxenbridge's *Seasonable Proposition*, p. 7. Colonel Scott, less well informed, states that Rowse took with him 'about 300' planters (Sloane MSS., 3662, ff. 40 b., 41).

The newcomers found a solitary settler, Jacob Enoch, probably a Dutchman or a Dutch Jew, living in Surinam with his family, having been unmolested by the natives for the space of two years.[1] Rowse, 'a gentleman of great gallantry and prudence, and of long experience in the West Indies',[2] proceeded to allot plantations and build a fort. The practical men who founded Surinam troubled themselves with no schemes of communal working or complicated financial subtleties such as always broke down in action. They knew exactly how to set about their task, and did so with the resources that came nearest to hand. This individualism remained a characteristic of the colony throughout its career. The name of Ralegh, even after the lapse of a generation, was still potent with the Indians, and Rowse, invoking it, experienced little trouble from his hosts.[3]

Lord Willoughby had lent the pioneers a ship and some trade goods, and sent some of his own servants to claim estates in his name. It is evident, however, that he was not the sole owner of the land by right of occupation,[4] and of course neither he nor any of the others had at this date any legal title in the shape of recognition from the Commonwealth or Charles II. Willoughby was, nevertheless, the predominant power among the planters, owing to the amount of capital he put into the venture. Scott says he spent altogether £26,000, but this applies to the whole career of the undertaking. He himself claimed to have disbursed nearly £20,000 in 1661.[5] He equipped a ship of twenty guns, and two smaller vessels, for the service of

[1] Oxenbridge, *Seasonable Proposition*, p. 7.
[2] Scott, *ut sup.*, f. 40 b. [3] Ibid.
[4] Scott expressly states this, and Modyford implies it.
[5] *Colonial Cal., 1661–8*, No. 83.

the plantation,[1] and sent out a further fifty settlers from Barbados towards the close of 1651.[2]

A week after their departure Sir George Ayscue's fleet arrived at Barbados to reduce that nest of royalism to the allegiance of the Commonwealth. Willoughby and the extremists were for showing fight, but the moderate element prevailed, and on 11th January 1652 the island capitulated upon terms. Amongst the latter was one clause to the effect that Willoughby was not to be molested in his planting of Surinam.[3] This recognized him as the founder of the colony, although it did not define the extent of his rights. He now prepared to go in person to Surinam, somewhat to the consternation of Major Rowse,[4] who appeared at Barbados at this juncture. Rowse and the planters had no desire to welcome Willoughby in the colony. As their principal creditor, his presence on the spot must cause embarrassment, and they would have preferred to hear that he was bound for Europe. He sailed, however, for Surinam on 27th March 1652, made a short stay, and departed for England before the end of May,[5] Although careless in details, he was full of energy and had an eye for essentials. He saw that legal authority was what he lacked in Surinam, and so betook himself to London to seek a proper grant at the fount of power.

Willoughby had fought on the Parliament side at the commencement of the Civil War, and his subsequent desertion to the royalists is palliated by the fact that it took place when their cause was on the decline. He acted,

[1] His own claim—*Colonial Cal., 1661–8*, No. 451.

[2] Modyford, *ut sup.*

[3] N. D. Davis, *Cavaliers and Roundheads in Barbados*, pp. 251–5, gives the terms of the capitulation in full.

[4] Modyford, *ut sup.* [5] *Colonial Cal., 1574–1660*, p. 380.

indeed, from conviction, and not from interest. By his surrender at Barbados he had once more made his peace with the Commonwealth, but this time without sincerity, as his later proceedings were to show. Arriving in England in August 1652, he obtained a partial restitution of his estates, and pushed his claim to the proprietorship of the new colony. So at least we may infer from a brief statement of 9th August, that Lord Willoughby was in England 'upon the articles of Barbadoes'.[1] The Council of State had, however, already taken cognizance of Surinam, and had for some time been deliberating upon the appointment of a certain Captain Richard Holdip as its Governor.[2] On 18th August they made their decision, and ordered that Holdip's commission should be engrossed, fair signed, and delivered to him.[3] Yet a third claimant shortly afterwards appeared in the person of Major Rowse. He was in England in November 1652, when a committee of the Council of State recommended that body to revoke Holdip's commission and appoint Rowse in his stead.[4] It appears that this was not done, but Rowse returned to Surinam, and remained there until 1654.[5]

Meanwhile, the Protectorate succeeded the Commonwealth, with improved prospects for so monarchical an institution as the proprietary government on which Willoughby's heart was set. On 16th March 1654 Cromwell's Council recommended that letters patent should be granted to Willoughby and his heirs for 'a tract of land in America, bounded on the east by the river of Marowyne, and on the west by the river Seramica, and

[1] *Colonial Cal., 1574–60*, p. 387.
[2] Ibid., pp. 376, 379, 383, 386, 387, April–August, 1652.
[3] Ibid., p. 387.
[4] Ibid., p. 394.
[5] Sloane MSS., 3662, f. 41.

extending in a right line so many miles to the southward as those rivers lie distant east and west from each other, to form a square'.[1] For some reason, however, the matter hung fire. Perhaps Cromwell, an old comrade of Willoughby in the army of the Eastern Association, could not forgive the desertion to royalism. Whatever the cause, the grant failed to pass.[2] Soon the disappointed petitioner was plotting for Charles II. He was under suspicion in 1654, detected in 1655, and imprisoned in June of that year. After being released, he was again arrested in March 1656, and set at liberty in November on condition of giving security in £10,000 to embark within six months for Surinam, not as proprietor, but on the vaguer 'articles granted on the surrender of Barbadoes'.[3] In spite of this he remained in England until the Restoration, playing a part once more in the royalist conspiracy of 1659.

Returning to the fortunes of the colony itself, we find a very scanty record for the period prior to 1660. Holdip, we know, was appointed Governor in 1652, but the story of his rule is a complete blank. The Barbadian planters, royalist by instinct, were not likely to welcome with any great effusion of regard an officer appointed by the Commonwealth; and the presence of Rowse in the colony must have added to his difficulties. Of his demission we hear only a considerable time after it took place. On 7th November 1655, Daniel Searle, Governor of Barbados, wrote to Cromwell: 'The collony of Surranam settled on

[1] *Colonial Cal., 1574–1660*, p. 414.

[2] It was still under consideration at the end of June, the last reference traceable—*Domestic Cal., 1654*, p. 230.

[3] *Colonial Cal., 1574–1660*, p. 461. For his share in royalist plots see art. in *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*

the maine of Guyana have applied themselfs unto mee with some complaint of theire unsettled condition. Theire governor coll. Holdip deserteing them retorned for England . . . since which time they have binn and still are without any person authorized in the governement amongst them.'[1] Holdip must have departed by the summer of 1654, for he took part in the Jamaica expedition which sailed at the close of the year, attaining his rank of colonel on that service. A protest from Jamaica in 1657 may bear reference to his proceedings in Surinam: 'I heare his highnes doth intend to send col. Holdip hither, which will breed great disturbance. here, he is soe extreamely hated for his crueltie and oppression, which they say he hath executed in the Indies.'[2] If this had related to his former stay at Jamaica the phrasing would probably have been more definite. Holdip did not in fact return. In 1658 he was sent as consul to the Levant.[3] As he is described as deserting his post at Surinam, we may infer that disorders had taken place there. In the same year, 1654, Rowse also quitted the colony, for reasons now unknown.[4]

Cromwell's many preoccupations prevented him from taking measures to bring Surinam effectively within the bounds of his empire. There must have been, during these years, a steady influx of settlers from the English West Indies, the majority with royalist predilections, and it would have been difficult to send out from England a governor who would be at the same time loyal to the

[1] *Thurloe State Papers*, vol. iv, p. 157.

[2] Ibid., vol. vi, p. 391. [3] Thurloe, vol. vii, p. 83.

[4] Sloane MSS., 3662, f. 41. Scott, the author, was not perfectly informed about Surinam. He seems not to have heard of Holdip, and implies that Rowse governed the colony continuously until 1654.

Protector and able to control the colonists without armed support. Support could not now be afforded, for Cromwell's Spanish war made higher demands upon the navy than had the more spectacular contest with the Dutch at the opening of his reign. This perhaps accounts for his willingness to turn over the whole business to Willoughby in 1657. As the latter did not close with the offer, nothing was done, and Surinam was left to govern itself until the Restoration.

Its self-government took the form of a representative assembly, a council, and a governor. The Assembly was elected by the planters, the Council was almost certainly appointed by the Governor, and the Governor himself was for the period 1657–60 elected by the Assembly, his term of office and that of the body which chose him enduring alike for one year at a time.[1] For the preceding three years, 1654–7, there is no evidence that there was any regular constitution at all. Holdip, the Commonwealth's nominee, had departed. Cromwell had not appointed a successor as late as the close of 1655, and it is practically certain that he never did so. We may therefore assume that the inhabitants, left to their own devices, were evolving the institutions which we find in force from 1657. Scott, indeed, asserts that William Byam had governed the colony from 1654,[2] but the other evidence is against this, and Byam himself only claimed to have been in office for three years at the Restoration.[3] Concerning his

[1] Byam's *Narrative of the late Troubles in Surinam*, 1661–2. I have been unable to trace an original copy of this work, but it is reprinted, apparently complete, in Robert Sanford's *Surinam Justice*, London, 1662, in which the reference for the above statements is pp. 1–2. See also Sanford's petition, *Colonial Cal., 1661–8*, No. 363.

[2] Sloane MSS., 3662, f. 41.

[3] Byam's *Narrative*, *ut sup.*

antecedents, the following facts are known. In 1651 he was a member of the Assembly of Barbados.[1] At that time he held the rank of major, and was of the royalist party. On 4th March 1652 an act of the new Barbadian Assembly—now anti-royalist—banished him and others from the island for one year, and a further measure prohibited him from returning thereafter without licence from the English government.[2] Byam went to England, where he was examined by a committee of the Council of State in February 1653.[3] He is next heard of in Surinam as related above. The fact that he was chosen Governor at three successive annual elections indicates that he filled the post with some ability. Some adverse opinions on his conduct, from persons who knew him, are reserved for later consideration.

(ii) *Surinam in its Prime*

Surinam or, to use its later title, Willoughbyland, saw its best days during the five years which followed the Restoration of Charles II. On paper, its boundaries included the rivers Copenham, Marawine, and Seramica, in addition to the Surinam, although the latter was the site of the great majority of the plantations. Two authors, who each resided some years in the colony, have left us eulogies of its conditions of life and natural beauties. George Warren speaks of its 'health, luxuriant soil, and kind women'; [4] and Mrs. Aphra Behn wrote regretfully: 'Certainly had his late Majesty of sacred memory [Charles II] but seen and known what a vast and charming world he had been master of in that continent, he would

[1] *Colonial Cal., 1574–1660*, p. 365.
[2] Ibid., p. 391. [3] Ibid., p. 400.
[4] *An Impartial Description of Surinam*, London, 1667, preface.

never have parted so easily with it to the Dutch.'[1] A visitor in 1663 found the inhabitants generous and obliging, the air moderately hot, the natives few and peaceable, and the country abounding in strange rarities of beasts, fish, reptiles, insects, and vegetables.[2] A natural curiosity well known to the colonists was the electric eel. Warren calls it 'the Torpedo or Num-Eele', and Mrs. Behn affirms that she had one for supper, and found it 'most delicate meat'.

The incoming voyager found the Surinam river a league wide at its mouth, with a depth of three fathoms on the bar at high water, and a navigable channel running close to either bank. Fifteen miles up lay a small village called Pramorabo or the Fort, and sixty miles from the sea was the capital Torarica, a town with a church and a hundred houses. Torarica has long since been abandoned, its site being now occupied by the estate of Waterland, which the negroes still call Stoneground on account of the ruins of the former buildings.[3] Ships of 300 tons could reach Torarica, and navigation was possible for another thirty miles beyond, a total of ninety miles from the river's mouth. Along wellnigh the whole of this course the banks were lined with plantations, each with its own landing-stage and boats, the river forming a common highway for all.

In Warren's time there were about five hundred plantations, of which forty or fifty possessed sugar-works yielding great profit to their owners. The fact that all transport went by the river necessitated dispersion of the

[1] *Oroonoko: or, the Royal Slave.*

[2] *Colonial Cal., 1661–8*, No. 577.

[3] Rev. P. A. Hilfman in *Publications of the American Jewish Hist. Society*, No. 18, p. 180. The other particulars in this paragraph come from Warren's *Description*.

estates in a long chain: Oxenbridge states that the pioneers planted 'at distance and alone' from the outset, the goodwill of the Caribs rendering this possible.[1] These same Caribs had exterminated an English and French settlement in 1645, and at first in spite of fair professions they gave the later colonists some anxiety; but after a few years the Englishmen's numbers became so great that there was nothing to be feared. After the Restoration the prosperity of the planters increased, and settlers continued to arrive from Barbados. A letter from Surinam of 15th August 1662 mentions that seven ships have just completed ladings of sugar and specklewood, the sugar being of better quality and higher price than that of Barbados; and that one planter has erected a windmill for his sugar-works, and others are following the example.[2] The plantation of St. John's Hill was described by Mrs. Behn as possessing the best house in Surinam. It belonged to Sir Robert Harley, an absentee owner who had bought other estates in addition. At St. John's Hill he had a large herd of cattle, and the mansion seems to have been a holiday resort for the ladies of the colony, perhaps on account of its healthy situation. Harley instructed his agent to dispose of all his interests in Surinam in 1666, but the Dutch conquest took place before this could be done, and he lost his property.[3] Lord Willoughby's estate was called Parham Hill. His agent was a Cornish gentleman named John Treffry, and his plantation was the scene of the sufferings of Oroonoko, the fictitious hero of Mrs. Behn's romance.

[1] Oxenbridge, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[2] *Hist. MSS. Comm., 10th Report*, pt. vi (Bouverie MSS.), p. 96.

[3] Letters to and from Harley, 1663–8, in *Hist. MSS. Comm., Report on Portland MSS.*, vol. iii, pp. 280, 284, 287, 302, 308.

Sugar produced by slave labour was the staple product, and on that account Surinam excited the jealousy of the powerful Barbadian interest. A letter of 1663 says that the sworn enemies of the colony are 'the Dons of Barbadoes', who use every effort to disparage the country:[1] and Lord Willoughby's difficulties in governing and defending the Caribbee Islands were certainly increased by the suspicions arising from his partiality for Surinam. Contemporary methods of sugar-making are described as follows:

> 'Canes become fit to break in twelve Months when they are about six foot high, and as thick as a Man's Wrist: They bear a Top like a Flag, which being cut off, and the Canes squeezed through a Mill, the Juice is boyl'd in Coppers to a competent thickness, and then pour'd into Wooden Pots made broad and square at the top, and taper'd to the Compasse of a Sixpence at the Bottome with a Hole through, which is stopp'd with a little stick, till the Sugar begins to be cold, and stiffen'd; when 'tis pulled out, and by that Passage, the Molasses drains from it; and being Cur'd awhile after this manner, is knocked out into Hogsheads, and so shipp'd off.'[2]

Of the growth of population no very precise figures are available. In February 1652 there were said to be 150 pioneers in the country.[3] Information laid before the Committee for Foreign Plantations in 1661 estimated the number of inhabitants at 1,000.[4] Presumably this refers to Europeans, although we cannot be sure that it does not include negroes: it would not include the Caribs, since they were not accessible for purposes of enumeration.

[1] *Colonial Cal., 1661–8*, No. 577.
[2] Warren's *Description*, p. 18.
[3] *Colonial Cal., 1574–1660*, p. 373.
[4] *Colonial Cal., 1661–8*, No. 83.

A great expansion then set in, so that we find a correspondent in November 1663 estimating the population at about 4,000, again without distinction of race.[1] This is the latest general enumeration surviving. The increase evidently continued, for Governor Byam asserted that in 1665 there were 1,500 men capable of bearing arms, although the great pestilence of the following year reduced them to 500.[2] All accounts agree that in 1665 the colony reached its maximum development; thenceforward 'it went ever retrograde'.

Of the civilized inhabitants, a fair proportion were Jews, whose descendants have remained in the country to the present day. To this continuity we owe the preservation of the early records of the Jewish community, the regular series dating from 1701, with the addition of one or two documents relating to the English period.[3] The complete authenticity of the earliest entries must, however, lie under some suspicion owing to certain dates contained in them. It seems reasonable to conjecture that the statements represent a genuine tradition, but were committed to writing at a later time. From this source, we learn that there were Dutch-Portuguese Jews at Surinam as early as 1639, and that a marriage is recorded in 1642–3.[4] The latter represents an isolated entry, and there is no other until the continuous register begins with the eighteenth century. It is unlikely that this Jewish community survived the early colony to which it belonged, and which, as we have seen, was

[1] *Colonial Cal., 1661–8*, No. 577.

[2] Byam's Journall of Guiana, Sloane MSS., 3662, ff. 27, 37.

[3] See *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, particularly No. 18, pp. 179–207.

[4] Ibid., No. 16, p. 9; No. 18, p. 191.

massacred by the Caribs in 1645. When Willoughby's men arrived in 1651, they found only one white man, whose name suggests that he may have been a Jew.[1] Willoughby himself is said to have introduced Jewish families in 1652,[2] and during the following years a large number of Jews settled at Cayenne after its abandonment by the French. These people obtained a patent for the purpose, from the Dutch West India Company.[3] When the French reoccupied Cayenne in 1664, the majority of the Jews there removed to Surinam. At that place they took up plantations, and became a permanent element in the population. On 7th August 1665 the Governor and Assembly issued a grant of privileges, by which the Jews secured freedom to plant and trade, free practice of their religion, exemption from public duties with the exception of military service, a tribunal of their own for the decision of minor suits, and a concession of ten acres of land at Torarica for the erection of a synagogue and schools.[4] The Dutch conquerors afterwards confirmed these privileges.

The foregoing account represents a collation of much scattered information concerning the social life of Surinam. From it we gather the impression of a colony built out of incongruous elements, but achieving a certain harmony by the possession of that sentiment of toleration which is bred in adversity. Royalist planters and Jews were alike refugees when they first came to the settlement.

[1] See above, p. 154. [2] *Publications, ut sup.*, No. 16, p. 9.

[3] Ibid.: in Egerton MSS., 2395, f. 46, there is an English translation of what is evidently a Dutch grant to Jewish colonists for settlement on 'the Wilde cust'.

[4] *Publications, ut sup.*, No. 9, pp. 144–6. There is no record of this grant in English archives, but a Dutch copy is preserved at Paramaribo (ibid., No. 13, p. 130).

Even those who had no politics were in a sense refugees also from the economic hardships of Barbados. They made for themselves an Alsatia in which they could live as they pleased, free, prosperous, and prodigal, during that little time of slack water in the middle of the seventeenth century, after colonists had learned to overcome the faults of inexperience, and before they had become involved in the great struggle for maritime supremacy in which the sea powers were shortly to engage.

(iii) *Surinam Politics*, 1660–5

The Restoration had the effect of bringing Surinam into more direct contact with the English government, and ultimately of establishing Lord Willoughby's claim to the proprietorship. It was also the occasion, although not the cause, of a violent outbreak of sedition against William Byam and the governing party in the colony. Byam, annually chosen Governor since 1657, was still in power when news arrived that Charles II had mounted the English throne. With that news there came a report—but not a copy—of a proclamation that all officials were to continue in office until further orders. The information was a half-truth. What had actually happened was that on 7th May 1660, nearly three weeks before the landing of the King at Dover, Parliament had issued a printed order that all sheriffs, justices of the peace, mayors, constables, and other ministers of justice, were to continue to perform their duties in the King's name, and that all military officers were to support them.[1] The order made no mention of colonial officials, and was obviously designed for the preservation of peace in England. But colonies were held to be parts of the English realm, and

[1] *Domestic Cal., 1659–60*, p. 433.

by a liberal interpretation of the wording a governor might consider himself to come within the scope of the order. After some deliberation, Byam and the existing Assembly decided to honour the so-called proclamation by remaining in office after the expiration of their year's term. The date of this decision was 8th May 1661.[1] The circumstances would appear to justify them, for their own constitution had never been endorsed by any English government, and their correct attitude was undoubtedly that of complying with the provisional orders of the new régime, whilst awaiting its more explicit decisions. As events were to show, this course was approved by the majority of the colonists; and even among the minority there was no dissent on the ground of political faith, for royalism was the universal sentiment.

On local considerations there was, however, a small but vigorous opposition led by Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Sanford, one of the Council, and his brother William Sanford. Byam accused this party of being a cloak for some men of broken fortune to stir up anarchy in the hope of plunder, and this, on a general view of the evidence, seems to be a fair estimate of them; for we have their own case fully set forth by Colonel Sanford, and in substance it amounts to little but froth and invective.[2] Their one reasonable argument was that they were resisting an unconstitutional authority; but since this was only of a temporary nature and prepared to yield to the central

[1] Byam's 'Narrative of the late Troubles in Surinam', in Sanford's *Surinam Justice*, p. 1.

[2] Byam, *ut sup.*, p. 5, corroborated by a correspondent of Sir Henry Bennet in *Colonial Cal., 1661–8*, No. 577; Sanford's case is contained in his *Surinam Justice* and his petitions to the King and Council, 1662, 17 Aug and 3 Sept., in *Colonial Cal., 1661–8*, Nos. 351 and 363.

power, their methods of protest were much more vigorous than the occasion demanded. In pleading their case in England they were therefore driven to obscure the issue in a cloud of mere denunciation and irrelevancy. Of Byam, on the other hand, most observers unconnected with the Sanford faction spoke well. There is one notable exception, Mrs. Aphra Behn, who describes him as 'the most fawning, fair-tongued fellow in the world . . . He was a fellow whose character is not fit to be mentioned with the worst of slaves.' His Council, she further asserts, 'consisted of such notorious villains as Newgate never transported . . . At the very council-table they would contradict and fight with one another, and swear so bloodily that it was terrible to hear and see them.' This testimony is quoted for what it is worth: it is probably worth very little, for its author was avowedly writing fiction, and the exigencies of her plot compelled her to paint all the European persecutors of her black hero in the worst of colours.

The progress of the sedition was as follows. In February 1661 the Assembly voted a levy of ½lb. of sugar per acre to raise money for public works.[1] There was some opposition, which was quieted after a time. Then, in October, at a meeting of the inhabitants of Torarica, William Sanford, abetted by his brother, 'did very insolently spit in the face of authority', the decision of the governing party not to vacate office having in the meantime given the malcontents their pretext.[2] The Sanfords and others went about the colony preaching revolt, and Byam as a countermove summoned the Assembly and also a general conven-

[1] Byam, p. 3.

[2] Byam's *Narrative*, p. 3. The ensuing details are taken from this work or from Sanford's rejoinder, *Surinam Justice*.

tion of the freeholders to meet on 28th November. Before this date the heads of the Sanford faction became frightened and sought to bribe the captain of a slave-ship to take them to Jamaica. Failing in that, they seized a sloop belonging to a Dutch resident. Byam's men recaptured the sloop, and afterwards arrested the ringleaders, who were all under lock and key four days before the Assembly met. Sanford does not substantially refute the above facts, but seeks to colour the taking of the Dutchman's ship as justified by the Navigation Act.

Sanford possessed the assets of a powerful voice and a flow of homely eloquence. He used them to such effect whilst in the gaol that all Torarica stood to listen, and Byam had to remove him to a vessel anchored out in the river. The Governor says: 'Sanford vomited such pickled language as exceeded the Rhetorick of Belinsgate' —to which the accused simply replies: 'Grant that I railed in the idiom of an oyster wench, it can be at worst but an incivility'. It is a pity that Mrs. Behn was not at hand to give us a fuller description of this scene.

On the appointed day the Assembly and convention of freeholders met, and the prisoners were brought before them. Byam describes this tribunal as 'the united authority of the colony'—Sanford, as 'a court-martial, or rather a High Court of Justice like that of Bradshaw's'.[1] Three officers who had been in England at the Restoration testified to having seen a proclamation continuing all magistrates, &c., in office, and the case was then apparently decided by acclamation, without any great formality of evidence. The prisoners were sentenced singly, the majority to banishment. Colonel Sanford came last. He was fined 5,000 lb. of sugar, and sent to

[1] Petition to Privy Council, *Colonial Cal., 1661–8*, No. 363.

prison in irons pending shipment to England by the next vessel to sail. He seems to have been a wrong-headed, violent man, and the author of his own misfortunes. In England he petitioned the King and the Privy Council for redress. The latter authority heard his complaint, but, so far as can be ascertained, took no action upon it, and Byam remained Governor of Surinam.

The Restoration gave ground for Lord Willoughby to expect an immediate recognition of his claim to Surinam. He very nearly obtained it: on 9th July 1660 a warrant was made out for a grant to him of all Guiana, to be held as a proprietary colony of the Manor of East Greenwich.[1] But before the patent could pass the seals, some one, probably the Earl of Clarendon, raised an objection on the ground that the territory thus to be conveyed was of unprecedented extent, and that the interests of the colonists would be unfairly prejudiced.[2] Clarendon, as the ensuing years were to reveal, had large and statesmanlike views on the consolidation of the colonial empire; and the objection, which went on to assert that the nomination of the Governor of Surinam should be reserved to the Crown, is quite in keeping with his ideas.

Willoughby's claim therefore remained in suspense, and became commingled with the very complicated matter of the proprietorship of the Caribbee Islands. That, in its details, does not directly concern the present subject. It was a muddle of over thirty years' standing, originating in a piece of culpable carelessness on the part of Charles I. At the Restoration, Willoughby, who had bought a temporary interest in the proprietary patent of the Earl of Carlisle, had to withstand the counterclaims of the Earl of Kinnoul, the planters of Barbados, the heirs of

[1] *Colonial Cal., 1574–1660*, p. 483. [2] Ibid.

Sir William Courteen, the creditors of Carlisle, and the Earl of Marlborough. All these had more or less plausible cases to submit, and it required three years for Clarendon to straighten the tangle. In June 1663 he did so on the basis that Willoughby should retain the government of the Caribbees for the remaining six years of his lease, with half the revenues, the other half going to satisfy the demands of the other claimants, and the whole falling ultimately to the Crown.[1]

The delaying effect of this affair upon the settlement of the Surinam business lay in the fears expressed in several quarters that if both went in Willoughby's favour he would become altogether too powerful for a subject of the Crown. The statesmen of the day were actively framing and enforcing what is known as the old colonial system, the network of laws and administrative machinery for the regulation and canalization of colonial trade. The tendency was all for restricting colonial independence, whether popular or proprietorial, and it seemed inexpedient to make so large an exception as Willoughby looked for in Surinam. In May 1661 a memorandum of the Secretary, Sir Edward Nicholas, advised that Willoughby, if his claim to Barbados were recognized, should be only Governor and not Proprietor of Surinam; otherwise he might draw off to the latter all the surplus planters of Barbados, and so hinder the colonization of Jamaica.[2] A few days later the Committee for Plantations suggested as an alternative that Willoughby should go as Governor to Barbados and after a while resign that post for Surinam.[3] A year afterwards (5th June 1662) we find the

[1] For a fuller account of this settlement see Mr. C. S. S. Higham's *Leeward Islands under the Restoration*, Cambridge, 1921, pp. 13–25.

[2] *Colonial Cal., 1661–8*, No. 80. [3] Ibid., No. 83.

Committee advancing precisely the same objections: 'The owner of Surinam ought not to be Governor of Barbadoes . . . All the Lords of the Committee think it best that Lord Willoughby should be made Governor of Surinam only for life, and that he may have a grant of a large portion of land there, which may be erected into a county palatine.' The next proposition, on 27th August 1662, took the form of a warrant to the Attorney-General, to prepare a lease to Willoughby for seven years, of all plantations between 1° and 20° N. latitude and east of Porto Rico, with enjoyment of half the revenues.[1] This, whilst conceding his claims in the islands, would seriously have curtailed his expectations in Surinam. Probably he protested, for when the patent passed the seals in November it was so drawn as to include the islands but to exclude Surinam.[2]

It now became evident to Willoughby that with regard to his mainland proprietorship he was confronted with an opposition he could not break. His solution was characteristic of the age: he bought off his weightiest opponent by a bribe of half the spoil in order to secure the remainder. On 2nd June 1663 letters patent were issued jointly to Francis, Lord Willoughby, and Lawrence Hyde, second son of the Earl of Clarendon. Beginning with a recitation of the efforts of Willoughby in the original plantation of Surinam, it goes on to say that the King, 'taking into consideration the faithful services of the said Lord Willoughby, and his desires that Lawrence Hyde, second son of Edward Earl of Clarendon, may be joined with him, grants to the said Francis Lord Willoughby and Lawrence Hyde, their heirs and assigns, all that part of the mainland of Guiana in America called

[1] *Colonial Cal., 1661–8*, No. 359. [2] Ibid., No. 387.

Surinam, lying westerly one mile beyond the river Copenam, and easterly one mile beyond the river Marawyn, containing from east to west forty leagues or thereabouts, and extending from the sea southwards to the heads of the said rivers, and thence by direct lines to the South Sea, by the name of Willoughby Land'. The usual proprietary rights are conferred in detail, subject to the payment to the Crown of one-fifth of gold and silver ore mined, and 2,000 lb. of tobacco annually; and also to the reservation of 30,000 acres to His Majesty for demesne. The proprietors may allow liberty of conscience to nonconformists at their discretion. The colony is to enjoy freedom of trade, and foreigners may traffic with it only on licence from the grantees, who have the right to confiscate for their own benefit the ships and goods of any who infringe that condition. If one of the grantees shall be present in the colony or in any part of America, and the other absent, the former shall exercise all jurisdiction, reserving the due share of profits to the latter.[1]

By this admission of a sleeping partner the Surinam proprietorship was settled. We know nothing of the negotiation by which Willoughby effected his bargain with Clarendon, but the nature of the transaction is obvious from the fact that the minister's son had done nothing to merit his good fortune. Not even the preamble to the patent makes any pretence that he had, although it specifies Willoughby's services in detail.

The clauses relating to freedom of trade and the admission of foreign merchants seem to imply that Surinam was to be exempt from the operation of the Navigation

[1] *Colonial Cal., 1661–8*, No. 451; Patent Roll, 15 Charles II, part 10, No. 4. Scott says the patent was granted in spite of some objection by the settlers—Sloane MSS., 3662, f. 41.

Acts.[1] In confirmation of this view there is an undated memorandum in one of Sir Joseph Williamson's note-books concerning the plantations: 'Surinam hath free trade, without all custom'.[2] On the other hand we have the fact that on 24th June 1663 the Privy Council ordered the dispatch of a circular letter explaining the most recent act to the governors of all the plantations, Surinam included.[3] But this was so soon after the grant of the patent that its effect may not have been generally realized by those not immediately interested; or the inclusion of Surinam in the list may have been a clerical oversight. The weight of evidence inclines to the view that the colony was exempt from the laws of trade, and if this was really so it indicates a very exceptional favour in the then state of English policy, due no doubt to the patronage of Clarendon. The latter was rigorous enough in enforcing the colonial system upon all other colonies. Willoughby himself was an opponent of the system. Writing on the affairs of Barbados in 1666, he says: 'Whoever he be that advised his Majesty to restrain and tie up his colonies in point of trade is more a merchant than a good subject.'[4]

The simultaneous conclusion of the Guiana and Caribbean questions left Willoughby free to quit England and take up his charge. He reached Barbados early in August 1663, and the delicate task of imposing the late settlement upon the planters kept him in the islands for more than a year. Byam meanwhile carried on the government of Surinam with the title of Lieutenant-General for the proprietors. The estate-owners were in

[1] These clauses are not to be found in the Carolina proprietary patents of 1663 and 1665.
[2] *Colonial Cal., 1661–8*, No. 209.
[3] Ibid., Nos. 500, 501.
[4] Ibid., No. 1204.

some trepidation concerning the effect of the new status of the colony upon their own tenures, and they awaited the arrival of the chief proprietor with mixed feelings. At length, on 18th November 1664, Willoughby entered the river, meeting with a cordial reception.[1] There is no reason to suppose that there was any general sentiment of hostility towards him: the attitude was one of expectancy. He was in a position to play the tyrant, but his record was that of a man who combined a certain generosity with a very healthy regard for his own interests. The majority of the planters were therefore prepared to display and expect reasonable conduct.

There was, however, one man of uncompromising temper who convinced himself that Willoughby meant to seize his plantation. This was a certain John Allen, who had settled in Surinam in 1657 and had already distinguished himself by being tried for blasphemy, and by wounding another man in a duel. He visited Willoughby at Christmas, and tried to demonstrate that he was the victim of slanderers. Willoughby, in reply, warned him that he would investigate his conduct. Allen then determined upon assassination. He lurked in ambush about Parham Hill for two days, vainly seeking his chance. Then, on 4th January, he burst into the council-chamber 'with a ghastly and direful countenance' and hacked Willoughby to the ground with a cutlass, immediately stabbing himself with the same weapon. The wounds of neither were mortal. Willoughby recovered after a long illness, and Allen, after trying to shoot himself with a pistol which missed fire, took poison and died in the boat which was conveying him to the Torarica gaol.[2]

[1] William Byam, *An Exact Relation of the Most Execrable Attempts . . . on Francis Lord Willoughby*, London, 1665, p. 3.

[2] These events are fully described in Byam's pamphlet last

When the question of tenures came to be discussed, considerable discontent was aroused. We do not know the details of the planters' grievances, save that Byam tells us that they objected to being merely tenants-at-will.[1] There was, however, more than this, as is hinted in the following year by a correspondent from Barbados, who writes that Willoughby has alienated his colonists in Surinam 'where his own Council (joining with the Assembly) have sent him 19 of their grievances; signifying unto him that they will quit the colony if he speedily relieve them not'.[2] Byam states that Willoughby pacified this discontent by a judicious answer. The people of a tropical plantation colony had always in the last resort this threat of desertion to hold over their rulers, for the greater part of their capital, being in the form of negro slaves, was easily removable. Many of the Surinam people used this threat, and some acted upon it, for when Willoughby quitted the colony on 9th May 1665, having recovered from his wounds, we hear of over 200 men going with or after him.[3] Willoughby never saw Surinam again. The Dutch war was beginning, and his presence was needed at Barbados, the most convenient centre for the command of his scattered dominions. He himself was fated to perish in the conflict.

cited. Scott apparently drew his information from this source, and adds nothing to it.

[1] Byam's Journal of Guiana, 1665–7, in Sloane MSS., 3662, ff. 27–37.

[2] *Colonial Cal., 1661–8*, No. 1152.

[3] Byam's Journal, f. 27.

(iv) *The Loss of Surinam*, 1665–8

The Anglo-Dutch war which began in European waters early in 1665 had originated in the previous year with hostilities on the West African and North American coasts. It was a struggle for commerce and colonies, the exciting cause being the great outburst of English enterprise which followed the Restoration and embodied itself in the push for control of the slave trade, the Portuguese marriage of Charles II, and the re-enactment and extension of the laws of trade and navigation. Whilst bearing in mind these general considerations, we shall here concern ourselves only with the fortunes of Surinam, itself a subsidiary element in the West Indian theatre of the contest. In this connexion it is important to remember that France declared war in January 1666, in alliance with the Dutch, and that it was in the West Indies that the French chiefly made their weight felt; their contribution to the other transactions of the war being so insignificant as to be very generally forgotten.

Along the Guiana coast hostilities were slow to begin. The menace of Spanish power, the difficulty of holding the Caribs in check, and the vast area available for development by the small number of pioneers who undertook that task, had all combined to produce an unbroken tradition of friendship among the English, Dutch, and French colonists. So far as we know, they had never yet drawn the sword against one another, and there had been many occasions on which they had acted in concert. In the Caribbean islands, with keener competition and less room for expansion, there had been much rivalry; and with the dispatch of forces by the belligerent governments the mischief spread thence to Guiana, in spite of local

movements towards neutrality. There were at this time French settlements of recent origin at Cayenne and Sinamari to windward of Surinam, and older-established Dutch posts at Moruca, Wacopow, Borowma, Essequibo, Berbice, and Aprowaco, all except the last to leeward.

The first move was the dispatch by Willoughby, from Barbados, of a raiding expedition to operate against Tobago, and the Dutch posts in western Guiana. It consisted of a small squadron of armed vessels and a regiment of foot, the whole commanded by the Major John Scott whose writings we have so often had occasion to cite, and who now appears in person on the page of history. In October–November 1665, after finding himself forestalled at Tobago by the buccaneers of Jamaica, he took Moruca, Wacopow, Borowma, and Essequibo.[1] He left small garrisons in the captured possessions, and, according to his own version, attempted, when he returned to Barbados, to persuade Lord Willoughby to consolidate them all in one well-defended post, but this was not done. In March 1666 Byam sent out a party which captured Aprowaco, and for a time the Dutch flag disappeared from all the Guiana rivers except the Berbice. Shortly afterwards came the news of war with France. M. de Lézy was the French governor of Cayenne, with a sub-

[1] His own account, in Sloane MSS., 3662, f. 41 b, corroborated by Byam's Journal, ibid., f. 27 b. The state papers contain no direct account of Scott's expedition, but there are some allusions which show that it took place substantially as he describes. Prof. W. C. Abbott in his biography of Scott (pp. 41–2) says that the latter was found guilty of cowardice and misconduct on two occasions in this expedition by a court-martial which afterwards sat at Nevis. But there are reasons for thinking that the evidence cited (Rawlinson MSS., A 175, ff. 149–56) is not so conclusive as appears on the surface, and some circumstances telling in Scott's favour need a good deal of explaining away.

ordinate post under de Noël at Sinamari. De Lézy proposed an agreement for local neutrality. Byam consented provisionally, but warned the Frenchman that he must attack if ordered to do so by his superiors; he would, however, give notice before commencing hostilities.[1] In August, Byam, having received orders from Barbados, dispatched Captain William Cowell with seventy men to attack Sinamari. They arrived on 14th August, sent in a letter denouncing the armistice, and stormed the place before daylight on the following morning, which the French considered a piece of sharp practice.[2] Prior to this, however, some French ships had taken the English garrison left at Borowma, Essequibo and some smaller posts at the same time falling to the Dutch.[3]

England had thus far escaped disaster on the Guiana coast, but in the Caribbee Islands things had gone badly. In April 1666 the English portion of St. Kitts was taken by its French neighbours with great slaughter, and the victors proceeded later in the year to capture and plunder the adjoining islands of Montserrat and Antigua. Worse still was the loss of Francis, Lord Willoughby. At the end of July he sailed from Barbados to recover St. Kitts, but a hurricane overwhelmed his fleet and he was drowned with most of his men. His brother William succeeded to his title, the command in the islands, and the proprietorship of Surinam.

Scott's conquests in Dutch Guiana provoked a counterstroke. At the close of 1666 the Zealand admiralty dispatched seven sail with 1,000 mariners and soldiers,

[1] J. Clodoré, *Relation de ce qui s'est passé*, &c., Paris, 1671, vol. i, pp. 378–80: Byam's Journal, f. 28, is in agreement.

[2] Clodoré and Byam, *ut sup.*

[3] Byam's Journal, f. 29.

under the command of Abraham Crynsens.[1] This armament touched first at Cayenne, where the French tried to dissuade Crynsens from attacking Surinam, their motive being that they hoped to take it themselves when their victorious fleet should arrive from the Leeward Islands. The Dutchman, however, was not to be deterred, and on 15th February 1667 his squadron sailed into the Surinam river.

Byam had long been in apprehension of such an attack, but his defensive measures were in arrear. The great epidemic which had begun during Willoughby's visit in 1665 continued to sweep the colony. Its nature is nowhere specified, but its ravages grew ever worse, so that at one time during the summer of 1666 it was impossible to muster a hundred sound men.[2] In addition the smouldering indignation against the Willoughby patent added the canker of disloyalty to the Governor's difficulties. Byam had received small supplies of munitions from Barbados, and had contrived to mount a battery of six guns for the defence of Torarica. Lower down the river he began the construction of a fort at Pramorabo to deny entrance to the invaders, and also set a permanent guard in canoes at the river's mouth. The work on the fort went on very slowly, so that when the Dutch appeared, its walls were in places only six feet high. Its five bastions, some unfinished, contained twelve mounted guns and nine others for which carriages could not be procured. The

[1] Byam's Journal, f. 30; Clodoré, vol. ii, p. 127.

[2] Byam's Journal is the authority for the following events, unless otherwise stated. He gives a more summary account in a long letter from Antigua to Sir Robert Harley in 1668 (*Hist. MSS. Comm., Report on Portland MSS.*, vol. iii, p. 308). An account in C. O. 1/21, No. 21 (*Colonial Cal., 1661–8*, No. 1421) appears to be an abstract of the Journal.

garrison consisted of 100 Europeans and 60 negroes. Byam's further preparations consisted in appointing officers for a general levy, and in ordering the planters to remove their provisions and valuables to remote places in swamps and creeks.

Crynsens, as we have said, reached the Surinam on 15th February. He eluded the guard, and anchored half a league from the fort before he was recognized as an enemy, owing to his inability to answer signals. On the 16th he sent in a summons to surrender, which was refused by Byam, who was present. Next morning his four largest frigates came abreast of the fort and cannonaded it for three hours. Owing to the lowness of the walls, they were able to shoot over the riverside defences and take those on the land side in reverse. Seeing this, Crynsens sent three large boatloads of soldiers to storm the land side of the fort, which the defenders were unable to man. The game was up, and Byam asked for terms, being resolved however to die fighting if he could not gain an honourable retreat. Crynsens seems to have been impressed by the defence, for he agreed that Byam's force should march out and depart with the customary honours, taking their private property with them and leaving only the artillery behind. But after the capitulation the Dutch detained the sixty negroes, and won over a good many of the English to take service with them on guarantee of their possessions.

Byam, with a remnant of his followers, went up to Torarica. He found opinions divided, many being for giving up the struggle. He summoned the Council and Assembly to meet on 21st February, and meanwhile levied a force of 168 Christians and Jews together with some negroes and Indians. The faint-hearted now began

to talk of the damage to the plantations which would attend resistance, and it was obvious to Byam that he would get little fighting from his outnumbered and divided followers. He sent an overture to Crynsens, and the Council and Assembly, taking into account the sickness, shortage, and inevitable end of a struggle, authorized him to treat for surrender. On 4th March the Dutch commissioners appeared at Torarica, and after a long haggling the terms were completed on 6th March.[1] A powerful factor in enforcing the decision was the fear of the arrival of the French, from whom far worse treatment was expected than from the Dutch. Crynsens, influenced perhaps by the same consideration, behaved with courtesy and moderation. Surinam passed under the Dutch flag on conditions of security of estates, equality of the planters of both nationalities, liberty of conscience, and freedom to such as wished to sell their property and depart. The English were required to swear fidelity to the Dutch Republic only whilst resident in Surinam, and in the event of attack by an English force they were not to be compelled to serve against it. The only confiscations were those of the estates of non-resident owners, and an indemnity of 100,000 lb. of sugar to be raised from the whole colony.

The closing words of Byam's journal may be quoted in his justification: 'To conclude, an universall and continued sickness, an imperfect halfe built fort, the vast distance of our settlements, an unable and divided people, the age, sickness, weakness and backwardness of many, the infidelity of more, the want of ammunicion, the insolent disorders of our owne negroes, the dayly expectacion of the merciless French, and the utter dispaire of any releife, were the confluence of united judgments which

[1] Old style.

our sinns had ripened, all concurring to subject us under the yoake of our enemies.' He himself retired in 1668 to Antigua, whence he wrote that he was 'hewing a new fortune out of the wild woods'.[1] He was so far successful that he founded a family which held the same lands until the middle of the nineteenth century.

A few months later the war came to an end in Europe. On 21st July 1667 the three combatant nations signed treaties of peace at Breda. England agreed to restore to France all colonies as held on 1st January 1665. Between England and the Dutch it was determined that either power should keep the conquests in its possession on 21st May 1667.[2] This regularized the loss of Surinam. The colony was, in effect, exchanged for New Amsterdam. The latter was necessary to England's completion of her colonial system; the former, with its special exemptions, was an imperfection in that system. Private considerations worked to the same end. The powerful Barbadian interest hated Surinam; Francis, Lord Willoughby, was dead; and the Earl of Clarendon was unpopular and on the brink of ruin. There was no one at the peace conference to speak for the planters, and the English interest in Guiana was allowed to perish.

Although the matter was decided in Europe, the news failed to reach the West Indies before events had occurred which altered the complexion of affairs. On 9th June 1667 Sir John Harman had arrived at Barbados with seven men-of-war and some auxiliaries. His purpose was to recover St. Kitts, but finding that this could not be done, William, Lord Willoughby, sent him to Guiana to

[1] *Hist. MSS. Comm., 10th Rep.*, pt. vi, p. 96.

[2] J. Dumont, *Corps Universel Diplomatique*, Amsterdam, 1731, vol. viii, pt. i, pp. 42–5.

avoid the risk of the West Indian hurricane season. With him went Henry Willoughby, son of William. Early in September they fell upon Cayenne, capturing it after a fight in which de Lézy, the Governor, was killed.[1] Then, proceeding westwards to Surinam, they retook that colony also, on 8th October. Crynsens had gone elsewhere, but his successor made a vigorous resistance before capitulating.[2] It was, however, of no avail. Harman and Henry Willoughby were back at Barbados on 10th November, and there they heard of the Peace of Breda. Henry Willoughby was promptly sent by his father to Surinam to bring off as many of the planters and as much property as possible before making restitution to the Dutch. The thoroughness with which the Willoughbys gutted the colony aroused much bad feeling and a series of disputes which rankled on until they formed one of the pretexts for the next Dutch war, in 1672. But the main issue could not be avoided. Reluctantly, and after incurring a sharp reprimand from Charles II, Lord Willoughby had to honour the treaty. By the middle of 1668 the Dutch were once more in possession of Surinam, and the French of Cayenne, and the long contest was at an end.

[1] See a detailed account in *Colonial Cal., 1661–8*, No. 1540.

[2] Ibid., and No. 1633; also Byam's letter in *Report on Portland MSS.*, vol. iii, p. 308. Willoughby remarked that 'Hans exceeded Mons much in his defence, and it was an honourable parting blow'.

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